

# SOLANUS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN  
BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

New Series Vol. 17 2003

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‘Paper for Tsar Ivan Groznyi’  
in the Archive (*Drevlekhranilishche*)  
of Pushkinskii dom (St Petersburg) \*

Natal’ia Savel’eva

Nineteenth-century scholars began the search for historical evidence relating to the attempt to set up papermaking in sixteenth-century Muscovy (in conjunction with the beginning of printing there). Two documents were published by N. P. Likhachev which are still used by scholars studying the question. The first was the report of Raphael Barberini, who visited Muscovy in 1564/5 bearing letters of recommendation from Queen Elizabeth I of England, that paper was being produced in Muscovy, but of poor quality: ‘They have undertaken to introduce papermaking and are actually making it, but they still cannot use it because they have not perfected the art’.<sup>1</sup> The second document, found by Likhachev in the Moscow archive of the Ministry of Justice among the papers of the Holy Trinity Monastery, was a purchase deed of 1576. When describing the boundaries of a dowry estate, this refers to a paper-mill belonging to Fedor Savinov on the Ucha River. From the text it is clear that by 1576 the mill was no longer in existence.<sup>2</sup> Apart from these two documents, scholars also refer to the fact that the German, Hans Schlitte, although his mission ended in disaster, nevertheless managed, in 1547, with the knowledge and blessing of Ivan IV, to assemble in Germany a group of masters of various crafts, among them a papermaker. Schlitte recruited 123 men, with whom he intended to set out from Lübeck for Muscovy, but he was arrested in Lübeck and sent to prison. He was either freed or escaped and in 1557 he returned to Russia alone and penniless. The master craftsmen recruited by him dispersed. Some sources state that some of them did end up in Russia, but whether a papermaker was among them is not known.<sup>3</sup> These are the three historical sources which featured in the works of various scholars up to 1971. These

\* The author and the translator wish to place on record their gratitude to John Simmons for invaluable assistance in connection with the production of the English version of this contribution.

<sup>1</sup> *Skazanie inostrantsev o Rossii v XVI–XVII vekakh. Puteshestviia v Moskoviiu Rafaelia Barberini v 1565 godu*, translated by V. Liubich-Romanovich (St Petersburg, 1843), p. 34. On Barberini, see also N. Tcharykow, ‘Le Chevalier Raphael Barberini chez le tsar Jean le Terrible’, *Revue d’histoire diplomatique*, année 18 (1904), pp. 252–274.

<sup>2</sup> N. P. Likhachev, *Bumaga i drevneishie bumazhnye mel’nitsy v Moskovskom gosudarstve. Istoriko-arkhivnyi ocherk* (St Petersburg, 1891), pp. 85, 86. (Offprint from: *Zapiski Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, vyp. 5 (St Petersburg, 1892), pp. 324–329).

<sup>3</sup> For a bibliography of Schlitte’s mission, see, for example: A. L. Khoroshkevich, ‘Sigizmund Gerbershtein i ego “Zapiski o Moskovii”’, in: Sigizmund Gerbershtein, *Zapiski o Moskovii* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 16–18.



scholars differed only in their attitude to the sources, i.e. as to whether they considered them to be trustworthy<sup>4</sup> or not.<sup>5</sup> No examples of actual sixteenth-century Russian-made paper are referred to in printed works, manuscripts or archival documents.

In 1971 Professor Edward Keenan, of Harvard University, reported his sensational discovery in the Danish Royal Archives of paper with an Ivan IV watermark. The mark is in the paper of a letter from Ivan to King Frederik II of Denmark, guaranteeing the status of Frederik's brother Magnus as King of the Livonian lands not belonging to Russia. The letter is dated 26 September 1570, and there is no doubt as to its authenticity. The text of the letter was published as far back as 1897 by Count Iu. N. Shcherbachev,<sup>6</sup> who showed no interest in the paper on which it was written. Professor Keenan's first report appeared in *Literaturnaia gazeta* on 14 July 1971 with an illustration of the text of the watermark and an abridged version of the text itself: 'Ivan Vasil'evich, Tsar of all Russia. Grand Prince of Moscow'. The note was accompanied by D. S. Likhachev's commentary headed 'A fact which has not entered the textbooks'.<sup>7</sup> A fuller study by Professor Keenan was published in *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, with illustrations made by transmitted light of the relevant leaves.<sup>8</sup> The full text of the watermark appears as follows:

ЦАРЬ ИВАН	БАСИЛЬЕВИЧ
ВСЕА	РУСИ
ДѢТА 7074 <sup>9</sup>	КНЯЗЬ ВЕЛИКИЙ
СОВЕР	МОСКОВСКИЙ

The words князь великий московский are enclosed in a *kiot* (a simple frame), surmounted by a cross (see Fig. 1).

In Professor Keenan's opinion, there was 'no reason to reject the possibility that the paper on which Ivan's letter to Frederik was written was produced in

<sup>4</sup> L. V. Cherepnin, *Russkaia paleografiia* (Moscow, 1956), p. 333; Z. V. Uchastkina, *A History of Russian hand papermills and their watermarks*, Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia, vol. 9 (Hilversum, 1962), pp. 11–12.

<sup>5</sup> S. A. Klepikov, *Filigrani i shtempeli na bumage russkogo i inostrannogo proizvodstva XVII–XX vekov* (Moscow, 1959), p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Russkie akty Kopengagenskogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva*, prepared for publication by Iu. N. Shcherbachev, Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, vol. 16 (St Petersburg, 1897), columns 93–98.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Keenan's letter to the editor of *Literaturnaia gazeta* and D. Likhachev, '“Fakt, kotoryi voidet v uchebniki.” Komentarii', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 1971, 14 July, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Edward L. Keenan, 'Paper for the Tsar: a letter of Ivan IV of 1570', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, New series, 4 (1971), pp. 21–29. An illustration of the watermark also appeared on the cover of: Edward L. Keenan, *The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha. The seventeenth-century genesis of the 'correspondence' attributed to Prince A. M. Kurbskii and Tsar Ivan IV* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1971).

<sup>9</sup> Keenan thought that the last letter of the date, which is not easily decipherable, could be read as either a *dobro*, signifying 4, or a *fita*, signifying 9.

Muscovy'. Keenan suggests that the paper might have come from the paper-mill of Fedor Savinov, mentioned in the document from the Holy Trinity Monastery, and may possibly have been made by Merten Sauer, a craftsman of German origin from Bohemia, whose name might be represented in the paper in the form *Sover* in Russian script—an attempt to transliterate *Sauer*. Professor Keenan's suggestion that the paper could be of Russian origin was immediately supported by Z. V. Uchastkina,<sup>10</sup> A. A. Sevast'ianova,<sup>11</sup> T. Gerardy<sup>12</sup> and V. A. Gulianitskii.<sup>13</sup>

But in 1974 an article by the eminent Soviet authority on watermarks, S. A. Klepikov,<sup>14</sup> rejected the possibility that the paper could be Russian. Klepikov argued as follows:

1. The mould on which the paper was produced was made by a foreigner, but it is not possible to establish his identity.
2. It is not possible to establish where the mould was made and the paper was formed on the basis of existing evidence. In any case it was not in Russia and not in Fedor Savinov's mill.
3. The paper is a sample, which some foreigner produced in his paper-mill and which was presented to Ivan IV (perhaps even by Hans Schitte).
4. The material presented by Professor Keenan does not support the conclusion made by D. S. Likhachev and Z. V. Uchastkina that the paper is of Russian origin.<sup>15</sup>

Klepikov's article effectively 'closed discussion of the topic'. An article by Ia. Dashkevich published in 1987,<sup>16</sup> in which Klepikov's point of view was subjected to thorough critical analysis, did not re-open the discussion about the early history of Russian paper production. Contrary to Professor Dmitrii Likhachev's prediction, the fact not only 'failed to get into the textbooks', but was somehow half-forgotten. Since then not a single article on the topic has appeared.

<sup>10</sup> Z. V. Uchastkina, *Razvitie bumazhnogo proizvodstva v Rossii* (Moscow, 1972), p. 222. Uchastkina evidently did not get to see the *Oxford Slavonic Papers* article before her book went to press, so relies solely on the *Literaturnaia gazeta* article.

<sup>11</sup> A. A. Sevast'ianova, 'Amerikanskii istorik o pervoi russkoi bumazhnoi mel'nitse', *Voprosy istorii*, 1972, no. 6, pp. 174–175.

<sup>12</sup> T. Gerardy, 'Besprechung', *IPH-Information* (Hannover) 1972, no. 1, pp. 18–24.

<sup>13</sup> V. A. Gulianitskii, 'Novye fakty iz istorii bumazhnogo proizvodstva v Rossii', *Bumazhnaia promyshlennost'*, 1972, no. 1, pp. 28–29.

<sup>14</sup> S. A. Klepikov, 'O dopetrovskoi bumage i "Bumaga dlia tsaria (Pis'me Ivana IV)" E. Kinana', *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy*, sb. 28 (1974), pp. 157–161. I am sincerely grateful to John Simmons for alerting me to his correspondence with Klepikov about Keenan's article. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to look at his letters (which are in the Department of Manuscripts of the Russian State Library).

<sup>15</sup> Klepikov (note 14), p. 161.

<sup>16</sup> Ia. Dashkevich, 'Bumaga dlia tsaria ili gosudareva bumaga? O nachale proizvodstva bumagi v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVI v.', *Russia Mediaevalis*, 1987, no. 6, pt. 1, pp. 221–247. My thanks to Professor Keenan who told me about this article and to Christine Thomas for sending me a photocopy. (I could not locate this journal in any St Petersburg library.)



The arguments on both sides will be discussed later; here I want to cite just one of Klepikov's main arguments proving, in his opinion, the impossibility of the paper being of Russian origin, namely the fact that only a single example of the paper has survived. Klepikov writes: 'The paper pulp would not have been produced for a single sheet . . . the same paper has not been found in a single publication of the sixteenth century . . . Furthermore, no scholar has ever come across any such Russian paper in Russian archives'.<sup>17</sup> But recently a sheet of the same paper, or rather a left-hand half-sheet, has been found in St Petersburg, in the Pushkinskii dom Archive, in Pinega MS 66. The leaf is blank and the watermark is clearly visible (Fig. 2), including the date 7074, the exactness of which Professor Keenan was uncertain about. This discovery gives us cause to us revisit the question of the origin of the paper.

First of all, something about the manuscript itself. It came into the Archive in 1963 as one of the fruits of an archeographical expedition to the Pinega district of the Archangel Region. A. M. Panchenko, A. Kh. Gorfunkel', E. I. Dergacheva-Skop and E. K. Romodanovskaia took part in the expedition. The manuscript was briefly described at the time it was acquired and the description appeared in V. I. Malyshev's guide to the Archive.<sup>18</sup> For the next several years the manuscript was under conservation in the Russian Academy of Sciences Conservation Laboratory, from where it has recently been returned to the Pushkinskii dom Archive. The present binding of the manuscript is one of the last works of the remarkable St Petersburg conservator Boris Germanovich Khovanov. The conservation work is, however, not complete, the block of leaves is still in unfinished boards. Our leaf with the watermark was discovered when the manuscript was being described for the catalogue of the Pinega Collection.<sup>19</sup> It is a folio manuscript dating from the 1510s (on the main block of paper which makes up the manuscript are two varieties of the 'tall crown' watermark, similar to Likhachev 1387 and 1405 (1511–12),<sup>20</sup> written in a large semi-uncial hand on 481 leaves. The manuscript is of high quality; it has fragments of three headpieces and three complete initials. In technique (tempera on burnished gold in the headpieces and tempera with worked gold frames for the initials) and in style the manuscript is close to the central Russian (mostly probably the Moscow) tradition. It is a full Apraksos Gospels, a translation of

<sup>17</sup> Klepikov (note 14), pp. 160–161.

<sup>18</sup> *Drevnerusskie rukopisi Pushkinskogo doma (obzor fondov)*, compiled by V. I. Malyshev (Moscow, Leningrad, 1965), p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> For a description of the manuscript, see: N. V. Savel'eva, *Ocherk istorii formirovaniia pinezhskoi knizhno-rukopisnoi traditsii. Opisaniie rukopisnykh istochnikov*, Pinezhskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia XVI–nachala XX vv. Opyt issledovaniia. Istochniki, t. 1 (St Petersburg, 2003), pp. 144–145.

<sup>20</sup> *Likhachev's watermarks*. An English-language version edited by J. S. G. Simmons and B. van Ginneken, *Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia*, vol. 15 (Amsterdam, 1994), plates 119, 120.



an early thirteenth-century Athos redaction.<sup>21</sup> The lexical components of the text do not reveal any specifically Novgorod, Pskov or South Russian features, while there is in fact a consistent observance of Central Russian linguistic norms. The manuscript has no inscriptions or notes which might enable us to localise its origins or its later history, only some late (nineteenth-century) notes relating to the conduct of church services. One can only speculate as to how the manuscript got to Pinega—most probably as part of the migration of an Old Believer collection.<sup>22</sup>

The leaf which carries the watermark (f. 482) probably served as the lower fly-leaf of one of the intermediate re-bindings. Judging by the surviving evidence, the manuscript was bound or rebound no fewer than four times: at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when it was written; probably in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, when the leaf which interests us was incorporated; again in the thirties or forties of the seventeenth century; and in the first half of the nineteenth century. The nature of the book—it is a Liturgical Gospels, in constant use for Church services—explains why the binding so often became worn and required rebinding. Judging by the data provided by Keenan, our leaf is very severely cropped, its dimensions being  $29.5 \times 18.5$  cm. The full unfolded leaf in the Danish Royal Archive even in its cropped state measures  $54 \times 40.5$  cm, i.e. it is a large 'Alexandrian' sheet. All the formal characteristics of the watermark cited by Keenan<sup>23</sup> in respect of the paper from the Danish archive tally with the characteristics of ours: the height of the letters—3 cm, and the distance between the chain lines—27.5 mm.

Now let us turn to the arguments of Keenan and Klepikov. In characterising the watermark, Keenan writes that 'the lettering is a characteristic simple Muscovite *viaz'* of the second half of the sixteenth century'.<sup>24</sup> In Klepikov's opinion, it is *not* typical of Muscovite *viaz'*: he suggests that the model for the interweaving of the letters was fourteenth-century Bulgarian *viaz'*. In support of his argument he gives in his article examples of Bulgarian *viaz'* from V. N. Shchepkin's paleography textbook and concludes: if the paper was made in Russia, 'the craftsman would have been given examples of Moscow and not Bulgarian *viaz'* for the preparation of the mould'.<sup>25</sup>

Klepikov had, of course, not seen the actual paper in the Danish archive, and had at his disposal only the illustration in *Literaturnaia gazeta* (hand-drawn and not conveying all the peculiarities of the watermark), and the

<sup>21</sup> The redaction was established by A. A. Alekseev.

<sup>22</sup> A. Kh. Gorfunkel' recalls that the manuscript was handed over to the archeographers in 1963 in the village of Verkola by the Old Believer preceptor (*nastavnik*) Ivan Andreevich Burachkin. For information about the Burachkins' library, see Savel'eva, *Ocherk istorii* (note 19), pp. 54–55.

<sup>23</sup> Keenan, 'Paper for the Tsar' (note 8), p. 24.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Klepikov (note 14), pp. 158–159.

half-tone plate accompanying Professor Keenan's *Oxford Slavonic Papers* article. When we look at the lettering on the leaf from the Pinega manuscript, it is evident that the letters are neither as rounded nor as joined-up as they appear in the illustration. By comparison with examples of complex Muscovite *viaz'* which we have in surviving manuscripts, the letters on the watermark are simpler and more uniform. However, we must remember that what we are dealing with is not a text written with a pen, but impressions made from wires sewn onto a metal mould-cover—a process which involves simplification. All elements of this *viaz'*, including those which aroused doubt in Klepikov's mind—the *VLE* ligature, or rather *LE* (on the Pinega manuscript the absence of the upper element of the ligature, the letter *V*, is clearly visible) and similar ligatures, a kidney-shaped *a*, the ligature *an*—can be found in examples of manuscript texts contemporary with the paper, e.g. a sixteenth-century manuscript Gospels (BAN. Arkh. sobr., 1209),<sup>26</sup> in Fedorov's Moscow printed books,<sup>27</sup> in embroidery (the letters and other elements of the *viaz'* on the 'Golgotha' pall made in the Moscow workshop of Empress Anastasia Romanovna in 1557),<sup>28</sup> and on gravestones.<sup>29</sup>

The text of the watermark is without errors. The error noted by Klepikov in the word МОСКОВСКИЙ, which he reads as МОСКОВСКИ, is not incontrovertible; in the illustration accompanying Keenan's *Oxford Slavonic Papers* article, this part is difficult to decipher. The perfect positioning of all the marks above the lines are evidence of the fact that at least the model for the text was written by someone with an excellent command of Russian and of semi-uncial script. Thus there are evidently grounds for assuming that the text of the watermark was executed in a version of Muscovite *viaz'*, simplified because it was to be wire-woven.<sup>30</sup>

The departure from the literal rendering of the Tsar's title in the text of the watermark also raised doubts in Klepikov's mind. He writes: 'We know the

<sup>26</sup> Reproduced in: E. L. Nemirovskii, 'Graviura na medi v russkoi rukopisnoi knige XVI–XVII vv.', *Rukopisnaia i pechatnaia kniga* (Moscow, 1975), p. 102.

<sup>27</sup> See his 1564 *Apostol*, f. 3 and his 29. X. 1565 *Chasovnik*, f. 127.

<sup>28</sup> Reproduced in: *Ocherki russkoi kul'tury XVI veka*, edited by A. V. Artsikhovskii (Moscow, 1977), pt. 1, p. 357.

<sup>29</sup> Reproduced in: *Sergievo-Posadskii muzei-zapovednik, Soobshcheniia 2000* (Moscow, 2000), p. 30 (1533 gravestone of the monk Mikhailo Kolomniatin) and p. 22 (1570 gravestone of the monk Varlaam Putiatin). My thanks to O. A. Belobrova for drawing my attention to the sixteenth-century gravestones in the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra.

<sup>30</sup> Dashkevich also thought that it was Muscovite *viaz'* and defined it even more precisely as '*viaz'* of the school of Ivan Groznyi' (Dashkevich (note 16), p. 238), evidently on the basis of Shchepkin's definition (V. N. Shchepkin, *Uchebnyk russkoi paleografii* (Moscow, 1920), pp. 37–38 and table 2). The examples we have cited from various sources show that such a definition is questionable and should in this instance be applied with caution; the characteristics of the letters and ligatures in the *viaz'* in the watermark cannot be ascribed to any particular workshop or 'school'.



punctilious attitude of Russian boyars to the Tsar's title. His usual title was "Ivan Vasil'evich, Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia" . . . It is hard to imagine that scribes who were supposed to monitor the foreigner (and the mould was undoubtedly made by a foreigner) would have allowed such a breach of etiquette.<sup>31</sup>

Given that in the Russia of Ivan IV there was no unified state symbolism or unity of state regalia and seals, can we be absolutely certain about the normalisation of the Tsar's title? In reality, we know of the use of an abridged form of the Tsar's title in conjunction with forms of command ('he commanded', 'by command of') and the use of the full form (this is far more common, with the addition of владимирский, московский, etc.—and the number of these increased in time with Ivan's conquests—he was 'the accumulator of lands') in direct constructions, where the title (the full title) was at the beginning of the document. How essential was the literal rendering of the Tsar's title on a watermark and how unacceptable was any departure from the literal title in the text of a watermark? According to data provided by A. L. Khoroshevich, at the end of Ivan Groznyi's reign the Ivan III seal, which lacked the word 'Tsar', was still in use.<sup>32</sup> And this at a time when a battle for the recognition of the tsar's title was being waged—a struggle which went on for almost the whole of Ivan Groznyi's reign. If the watermark was made outside Russia, then the omission of the word 'tsar' in the title would be more likely. Moreover, the watermark text on the document from the Danish archive reflected both components of Ivan's monarchic status—first, his status as tsar (Tsar of All Russia) and, second, the supremacy of the position of the Muscovite hereditary monarch as head of the one, true, orthodox Church—the words князь великий московский are enclosed in a frame surmounted by a cross, a symbol of sanctity and orthodoxy. In any case, the fact that Ivan used this paper for his letter to Frederik II proves beyond doubt that he found this form of address acceptable.<sup>33</sup>

In my view, the most problematical of Keenan's suggestions relates to the master who made the mould for the paper. On the basis of data given by Jahnel<sup>34</sup> and Eineder,<sup>35</sup> Keenan suggests that he may have been Merten Sauer, the German owner of a paper mill in Bohemia. Keenan's hypothesis is based

<sup>31</sup> Klepikov (note 14), p. 158.

<sup>32</sup> Such a seal was used, for example, on the resolution of 15 January 1580 forbidding the clergy to confiscate or redeem monastery lands. See: *Gerb i flag Rossii*, edited by G. V. Vilinbakhov (Moscow, 1997), p. 172.

<sup>33</sup> A similar argument about the tsar's title is advanced by Dashkevich. See Dashkevich (note 16), pp. 238–239.

<sup>34</sup> C. Jahnel, *Die Papiermühle zu Aussig im 16. Jahrhundert*, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte in Böhmen, 23 (Prague, 1885), p. 295.

<sup>35</sup> G. Eineder, *The Ancient paper-mills of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and their watermarks*, Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia, vol. 8 (Hilversum, 1960), p. 113.



on the fact that Merten Sauer's name appears in documents in Bohemia of 1575–76 (according to Eineder in 1569); nothing is known of him before that time. Combining this with data about Hans Schlitte's mission to the effect that one of the craftsmen that he recruited did manage to get to Russia, Keenan suggests that the man could have been Merten Sauer. He considers that this is corroborated by the presence in the text of the watermark of the word *sover* which he sees as being a cyrillic transliteration of the name 'Sauer'.

Klepikov, pointing out the contradictions between Jahnel and Eineder, observes quite justifiably that Merten Sauer is not mentioned anywhere as being a master, only in 1569 (according to Eineder) and in 1576–76 (according to Jahnel) as the owner of Hans Schaffhirt's mill at Ústi (Aussig).

The main point of departure in Keenan's hypothesis is that the word *sover* may be the oral transmission by a Ukrainian or Belarusian of Sauer's name as pronounced in a dialect in which the voicing of initial *s* had not taken place and where the German *au + er* could produce *souer* which, in the absence of a labial *u* in Great Russian, could result in the graphic transcription *sover*.

It seems to me that this explanation is over-ingenious. If the craftsman was a foreigner executing the text of the watermark so precisely, would he have represented it in such a complicated way, so far from the Great Russian norm? Even if the design on the mould had been produced by a Russian, he would hardly have given such a complicated rendering of the foreigner's name. A. A. Alekseev has pointed out to me that the name Sauer could sound like 'Sover' in one of the German dialects. But even in that case the presence of a craftsman's name on a watermark is a cause for question. The tradition of including in a watermark the name of the craftsman (very rarely) or the name of the mill-owner is normal and even standard in Western products, but in Russia it appears much later. The compulsory marking of goods was introduced only by the New Trade Statute of 1667. In surviving works of painting, applied art and in the colophons of early-printed books the name of the craftsman was not given together with the name of the tsar without some form of subordination ('by order of' or 'on the order of') or at least not without an indication of the monarch's power (the form 'in the reign of'). A craftsman would most certainly not have been permitted to put his name alongside the name and title of the tsar.

It seems to me that the most likely interpretation of the word *sover* is that it is a version (lacking the ending) of the traditional formula (as found in colophons) of Лѣта 7074 соверши (совершился, совершена бысть or another variant of this form), i.e. 'printing was completed in the year 7074'. Keenan does consider this possibility but rejects it for two reasons: (1) that in the Russian of that time there was no tradition of abbreviations or contracted

forms;<sup>36</sup> and (2) that in this context we should have expected the more archaic form съверши—or even сътвори. The second reason cannot be considered valid. An example: the publication details in the Moscow colophons of Ivan Fedorov—the 1564 *Apostol* and the 1565 *Chasovnik*—in both of which the word appears in the form совершена, whereas in Fedorov’s Zabludov and Ostrih imprints it is in the form съвершена.

As regards the abbreviated (or, in my view, the incomplete) word *sover*, if we look at the layout of the watermark we see a clear disparity between the top and the bottom halves. The two top lines are absolutely symmetrical with the notional centre, i.e. with the right and left halves of the leaf. The composition is broken in the lower part, where the *kiot* with the text князь великий московский is arranged on a level with the two lower lines but slightly shifted to the left. It is possible to surmise that initially the text was simpler and more traditional, as follows:

Царь Иван	Басильевич
всѣа	Руси
Лѣта 7074	года (году, мира бытия)
совер	шися (-шися, -шена, -шена бысть)

It was the lack of a ‘genealogical’ component in the title of the Tsar (великий князь) that made it necessary to change this simple text and resulted in this rather awkward composition and form of watermark. At what stage this change was made and whether there existed examples of the paper with my conjectural original text it is impossible to say on the basis of the evidence at our disposal. The leaf in the Pinega manuscript provides no explanation since, judging by the arrangement of the chain lines, it is cropped not only on the left but also on the right. My conjecture is absolutely hypothetical but, it seems to me, no less plausible than seeing in the word совер the name of the German papermaker Merten Sauer.

Daskevich’s article raises a further problem: that of the dating of the watermark. As we said earlier, the last letter in the date in the Danish archive sheet (Fig. 1) is hard to make out. Keenan proposed two equally possible readings: 7074 (1565/66) and 7079 (1570, taking into account the fact that the letter written on this paper was dated 26 September 1570). Klepikov (who had at his disposal only the illustrations in the *Literaturnaia gazeta* and *Oxford Slavonic Papers* articles) started from the premise that the paper was of foreign origin and gave preference to the date 7074. In Dashkevich’s article there is an illustration of the watermark based on a tracing made by colleagues in the Danish archive ‘in accordance with all the rules of watermark studies’.<sup>37</sup> Unfortu-

<sup>36</sup> Dashkevich states categorically that the word *sover* is simply part of a colophon, not explaining why it is used in this abbreviated form (Dashkevich (note 16), p. 240).

<sup>37</sup> Dashkevich (note 16), p. 237.



nately the author does not indicate what these rules are or whether the tracing was done by hand or by some mechanical means. However Dashkevich insists that on the paper from the Danish archive ‘some distortion of the date 7079’ can be seen and so ‘the leaf was made between 1 and 28<sup>38</sup> September 1570 (the completion of the full technical process)’.<sup>39</sup> The Pinega example provides a clear and unambiguous reading of 7074 (see Fig. 2). What do we have: two examples of one watermark or two watermarks, made five years apart? The answer to this question can only be provided after examination of an exact reproduction of the watermark from the Danish archive. Nevertheless a study of the illustration published by Edward Keenan and a comparison of it with the Pinega mark leads us to question the reading of the last character as  $\theta$  (i.e. 9) in the example from the Danish archive. It appears that the two examples (not forgetting that in the Pinega manuscript only the left half of the leaf has survived) have identical texts. At the same time when comparing with the naked eye our example with the Keenan illustration, it is possible to distinguish differences of a kind which suggest that we *may be dealing with sheets emanating from the ‘twin’ moulds used for the original manufacture of the paper* (see below). These include the ligature over the word  $\text{црь}$ , the upper loop on the letter 3 (i.e. 7), the ligature over the date and, finally the upper element of  $\text{в}$  in the word  $\text{влето}$  ( $\text{лета}$ ). However all these varying readings must be accompanied by a reservation: we did not have a precise reproduction of the example from the Danish archive. In any case the discovery of the Pinega leaf contradicts Klepikov’s conclusion that the paper survived in only one example and that the leaf from the Danish archive was merely a sample made in some foreign factory and sent to Ivan Groznyi.

Finally, Klepikov (who had not examined the leaf in the Danish archive) describes it as being paper of ‘decent’ quality, on the grounds that the chain lines and letters are fairly clearly visible; Keenan considered it to be of ‘coarse to medium quality’. The Pinega leaf confirms that the watermark is clearly visible (on the blank leaf it is even visible to the naked eye). However, the quality of the furnish is far from fine, the paper is coarse and uneven in composition; this is clearly visible on our beta radiograph (Fig. 2), which enables us to establish the condition of the pulp.

Klepikov ignores an important point raised by Keenan, that the watermark on Ivan’s letter is contrary to all the traditions of non-Russian watermarks. Not only because it is executed in *viaz’* and gives the date as from the (Orthodox) Creation of the World—a form not used in western countries—but also because it is a watermark consisting of text, for which we have no analogy in non-Russian paper of the period.

<sup>38</sup> There is evidently an error in the text and it should be read as 26 September.

<sup>39</sup> Dashkevich (note 16), p. 240.



These are the standing arguments reflecting the two points of view regarding the origin ('Russian' or 'non-Russian') of the 'paper for Ivan Groznyi'. The Pinega leaf does not by itself provide us with a specific answer to the problem of origin, but its watermark introduces a new and decisive factor into the discussion. For close examination reveals that the Pinega leaf is not 'identical' with the Copenhagen one, but that by an extraordinary chance it is its 'twin', i.e. that the two marks originate from the two moulds which were dipped alternately into the vat during the process of manufacture (see Figs 1–2). Allan Stevenson has shown that during the hand-made period of paper-making the attempt was made to sew the watermark wires (which produce the watermarks) into the twin moulds in identical fashion, but that there inevitably were detectable differences in location or style between the two marks.<sup>40</sup> This explains the similarity (short of identity) of the Copenhagen and Pinega watermarks, and it also obviously confirms the 7074 date for the Copenhagen mark, since the year is clear in its Pinega twin. Moreover, it confirms me in my view that Keenan is correct in his belief that the Copenhagen paper was made in Muscovy *c.* 1565, which inevitably implies that its Pinega twin shares the same origin. Where exactly in Muscovy it was made, it is impossible to say with certainty, but the paper-mill reported by Raphael Barberini in 1564/5 is the obvious candidate. Paper-making (like printing) in Muscovy in the 1560s was very much a state enterprise, and assuming that the mill later associated with Fedor Savinov in connection with the 1576 Holy Trinity documents is its successor, it is highly significant that the River Ucha and the other places referred to in those documents are within thirty kilometres of Moscow on the (now) Iaroslavskoe shosse—the road which led to Ivan Groznyi's Aleksandrova sloboda.

The case may remain open, but at least we have a new, totally unexpected, and (in my view) conclusive piece of evidence.

<sup>40</sup> See Allan H. Stevenson, 'Watermarks are twins', in: *Studies in bibliography. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, edited by Fredson Bowers, vol. 2 (1951–1952), pp. 57–91, [8] plates.



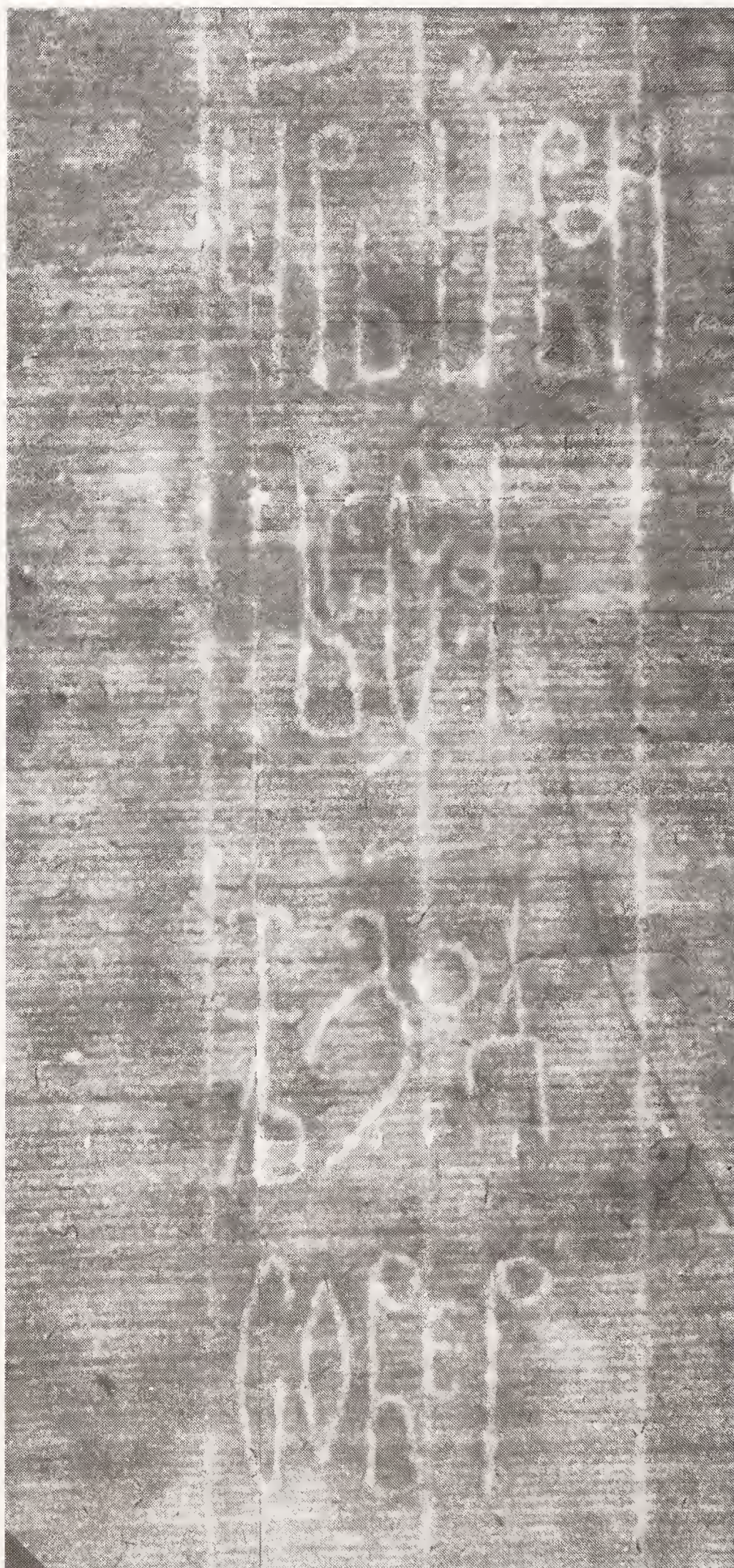


Fig. 1. The Copenhagen watermark (part which is on the lower portion of the leaf). Beta-radiograph made in the Royal Library, Copenhagen.



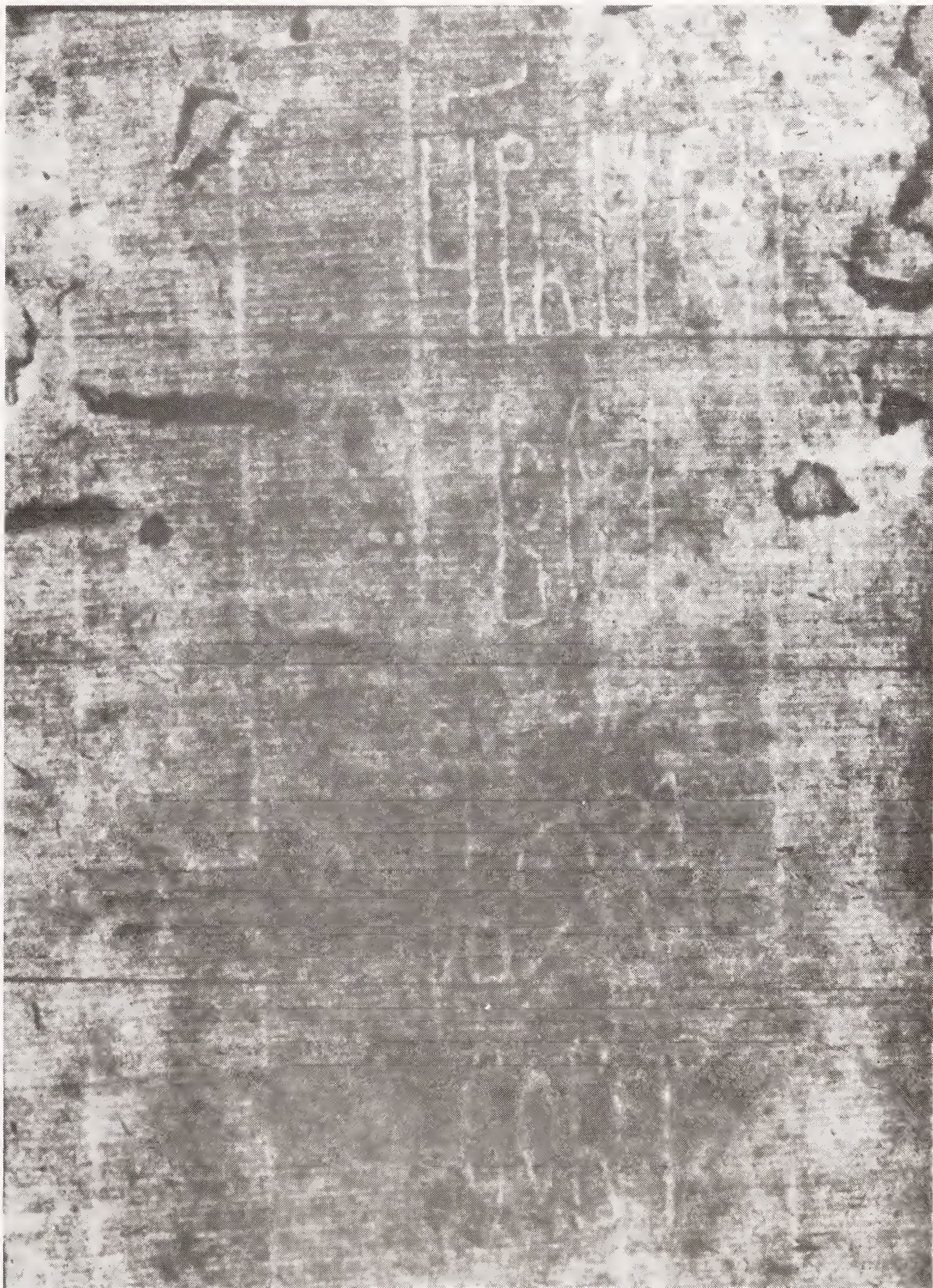


Fig. 2. The Pinega watermark. Beta-radiograph made by D.P. Erastov in the Russian Academy of Sciences Conservation Laboratory.



# Russian Imperial Censors from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century

N. A. Grinchenko and N. G. Patrusheva

Since 1998 a group of authors from various scholarly institutions (mainly in St Petersburg) have been at work on a research project entitled 'Russian Imperial censors from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries'. The plan for this research was prepared by staff of the Book Studies Group (*gruppa knigovedeniia*) at the National Library of Russia and the Department of the History of Journalism at St Petersburg University. This is the first special study of the Russian Imperial censorship apparatus as a system of inter-related central and local organs: the directorates, the censorship committees, the individual censors and press inspectorates that carried out internal and external censorship, and exercised supervision over printing-houses, libraries and booksellers. The intention is to include the entire body of censorship staff in established posts at the Ministries of Public Education and of Internal Affairs over the hundred or so years of their existence.

There is little published research on the history of the censorship organs. We should mention: N. P. Eroshkin's textbook for the course on the history of state institutions, which gives a short description of the Russian censorship apparatus;<sup>1</sup> the article by V. G. Chernukha on the activity of the Chief Press Directorate (*Glavnoe upravlenie po delam pechati*) from 1865 to 1881;<sup>2</sup> and the surveys of the archival holdings of the Chief Press Directorate and of the Committee for Foreign Censorship (*Komitet tsenzury inostrannoi*) compiled by L. I. Polianskaia.<sup>3</sup> Short biographical particulars of censors are contained in two works by A. V. Mez'er: her *Slovarnyi ukazatel' po knigovedeniiu*;<sup>4</sup> and her manuscript recently published, with a supplementary modern bibliography by staff of the Rare Books Department at the State Public Historical Library, under the title *Slovar' russkikh tsenzorov*.<sup>5</sup> A history of the St Petersburg Cen-

<sup>1</sup> N. P. Eroshkin, *Istoriia gosudarstvennykh uchrezhdenii dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii* (Moscow, 1983), pp. 153, 167–168, 182, 207–208, 219, 253, 285, 315, 316.

<sup>2</sup> V. G. Chernukha, 'Glavnoe upravlenie po delam pechati v 1865–1881 gg.', in: *Knizhnoe delo v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX–nachale XX v.: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, vyp. 6 (St Petersburg, 1992), pp. 20–40.

<sup>3</sup> L. Polianskaia, 'Arkhivnyi fond Glavnogo upravleniia po delam pechati: obzor', in: *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, vol. 22/24 (Moscow, 1935), pp. 603–634; and L. I. Polianskaia, 'Obzor fonda Tsentral'nogo komiteta tsenzury inostrannoi', *Arkhivnoe delo*, no. 1/45 (1938), pp. 63–103.

<sup>4</sup> A. V. Mez'er, *Slovarnyi ukazatel' po knigovedeniiu* (Leningrad, 1924), pp. 601–604, 679–692, 913–918; and A. V. Mez'er, *Slovarnyi ukazatel' po knigovedeniiu*, pt. 3 (Moscow, Leningrad, 1934), pp. 270–379.

<sup>5</sup> A. V. Mez'er, *Slovar' russkikh tsenzorov: Materialy k bibliografii po istorii russkoi tsenzury* (Moscow, 2000).



ship Committee and its personnel (1828–1905) is given in a work by the English scholar I. P. Foote.<sup>6</sup>

In most studies of the censors—whether literary figures, academics or senior officials—the focus of attention has been on their censorship activities or on the analysis of their views on censorship and freedom of speech. Researchers are now increasingly turning to material of a biographical nature. Among these should be mentioned: the articles by A. P. Nikolaev on the work of the Moscow censor K. N. Leont'ev;<sup>7</sup> by V. G. Berezina on the censor A. V. Nikitenko;<sup>8</sup> by L. P. Gromova on the censor V. N. Beketov;<sup>9</sup> and the conference paper by V. D. Takazov on the censors of national publications in Ossetia.<sup>10</sup>

Participants in the present project have also made a substantial contribution to the study of the subject. The aims and objectives of the censors and their institutions, as set out in the various censorship statutes, have been treated in D. I. Raskin's study 'The historical realia of Russian statehood and Russian civil society in the nineteenth century'.<sup>11</sup> The organisation of censorship in the eighteenth century is dealt with in two works by V. A. Somov.<sup>12</sup> V. S. Izmozik, writing on the history of perustration in Russia (carried out at post offices under the Chief Administration of Posts and Telegraphs alongside the censorship of foreign newspapers and journals), has analysed the work and

<sup>6</sup> I. P. Foote, *The St Petersburg Censorship Committee 1828–1905* (Oxford, W. A. Meeuws, 1992); also published in *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 24 (1991), pp. 60–120. I. P. Foote has also published 'Counter-censorship: authors v. censors in nineteenth-century Russia', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 27 (1994), pp. 62–105. Other book-length treatments in English are: Daniel Balmuth, *Censorship in Russia 1865–1905* (Washington DC, University Press of America, 1979); Charles A. Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804–1906* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982); and Marianna T. Choldin, *A Fence Around the Empire: Russian Censorship of Western Ideas Under the Tsars* (Durham NC, Duke UP, 1985). Transl.

<sup>7</sup> A. P. Nikolaev, 'Formuliarnyi spisok o sluzhbe tsenzora Moskovskogo tsenzurnogo komiteta statskogo sovetnika Leont'eva', *Rossiiskii arkhiv*, No. 2/3 (1992), pp. 387–391.

<sup>8</sup> V. G. Berezina, 'Tsenzor o tsenzure: (E. V. Nikitenko i ego "Dnevnik")', *Russkaia literatura*, No. 1 (1996), pp. 159–174.

<sup>9</sup> L. P. Gromova, 'V. N. Beketov tsenzor "Sovremennika"', *Vestnik S.-Peterb. un-ta*. Ser. 2, vyp. 3 (1997), pp. 77–86.

<sup>10</sup> V. D. Takazov, 'O tsenzorakh natsional'nykh izdaniy Osetii', in: *Sredstva massovoi informatsii v sovremennom mire: Tezisy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, Sankt-Peterburg, 28–29 aprelya 1999 g.* (St Petersburg, 1999), pp. 111–112.

<sup>11</sup> D. I. Raskin, 'Istoricheskie realii Rossiiskoi gosudarstvennosti i russkogo grazhdanskogo obshchestva v XIX veke', in: *Iz istorii russkoi kul'tury*, vol. 5: *XIX vek* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 716–731, 791.

<sup>12</sup> V. A. Somov, 'Frantsuzskaia "Rossica" epokhi prosveshcheniia i tsenzura (1760–1820)', in: *Russkie knigi i biblioteki v XVI–pervoi polovine XIX v. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (Leningrad, 1983), pp. 105–120; and V. A. Somov, 'Tsenzura inostrannykh izdaniy v Rige v kontse XVIII v.', *Latvijas PSR Zinatnu Akademijas Vestis. Izvestiia Akademii nauk Latvii SSR*, no. 4 (1990), pp. 53–58.



personnel of the 'black offices'.<sup>13</sup> D. A. El'iashevich, in studying the censorship history of Jewish publications, has collected a wealth of material on the censors who handled works in Yiddish and Hebrew.<sup>14</sup> The collective work *Tsenzura v Rossii: istoriia i sovremennost'* includes an article by N. A. Grinchenko on the history of the censorship organs in the Russian Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century;<sup>15</sup> and an analogous article by N. G. Patrusheva on the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries has been published in the collection *Knizhnoe delo v Rossii*.<sup>16</sup>

The sources for the subject are, in the first place, the legislation on censorship and the Imperial decrees under which the censorship organs were created, developed and functioned, and which defined the scope of the censors' duties. The reference works issued by the Ministries of Public Education and of Internal Affairs, which contain explanations of the censorship laws and of the rights and obligations of functionaries and institutions in the publishing field, are of considerable interest. Some factual material appears in the jubilee volumes published by certain ministries.<sup>17</sup> Personnel changes among censorship officials are recorded in the volumes of the *Adres-kalendar'*.<sup>18</sup> However, when using this directory it should be noted that the names of censors entering ser-

<sup>13</sup> The *chernyi kabinet* (cabinet noir) was a secret department responsible for interception and reading of mail. It was a French invention, dating back to Cardinal Richelieu, who set up the first one in Paris. V. S. Izmozik, 'Pervye sovetskie instruktsii po perliustratsii', *Minuvshee: Istoricheskii al'manakh* (Moscow, St Petersburg, Atheneum-Feniks, 1997), pp. 155–74. See also: V. S. Izmozik, 'Rossiiskie chinovniki "Chernykh kabinetov" v nachale XX v.', in: *Rossiiia v XIX–XX vv.: Sbornik statei k 70-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia R. Sh. Ganelina* (St Petersburg, 1998), pp. 218–225; and V. Izmozik, 'Chernyi kabinet: K istorii perliustratsii v Rossii', *Rodina*, no. 10 (2000), pp. 48–54.

<sup>14</sup> D. El'iashevich, 'Evreiskie tsenzory v Rossii, 1797–1917 gg.', *Vestnik Evreiskogo universiteta v Moskve*, no. 2(18) (1998), pp. 35–42; and D. A. El'iashevich, *Pravitel'stvennaia politika i evreiskaia pechat' v Rossii, 1797–1917: Ocherki istorii tsenzury* (St Petersburg, Jerusalem, 1999), 792pp.

<sup>15</sup> N. A. Grinchenko, 'Istoriia tsenzurnykh uchrezhdenii v Rossii v pervoi polovine XIX veka', in: *Tsenzura v Rossii: Istoriia i sovremennost'*. *Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (St Petersburg, 2001), pp. 15–46.

<sup>16</sup> N. G. Patrusheva, 'Istoriia tsenzurnykh uchrezhdenii v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX–nachale XX veka', in: *Knizhnoe delo v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX–nachale XX veka. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, vyp. 10 (St Petersburg, 2000), pp. 7–48.

<sup>17</sup> Cf.: *Ustav o tsenzure* (St Petersburg, 1804); *Ustav o tsenzure* (St Petersburg, 1826); *Ustav o tsenzure* (St Petersburg, 1828); *Ustav o tsenzure i pechati*. Sost. V. P. Shirkov (St Petersburg, 1900); *Ustav o tsenzure i pechati*, vol. XIV: *Svod zakonov po izdaniuu 1890 g.* (St Petersburg, 1903); *Sobraniia uzakonenii i rasporyazhenii Pravitel'stviushchego Senata* (St Petersburg, 1863–1917). All legislation on the censorship was published in the *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii; Ministerstvo vnutrennykh del. Ego prava i obiazannosti. Sbornik prakticheskikh svedenii* (St Petersburg 1904), 240pp.; *Ministerstvo vnutrennykh del. 1802–1902. Istoricheskii ocherk* (St Petersburg, 1902), vol. 1, pp. 149–152, 217–220; vol. 3, pp. 117–119; S. V. Rozhdestvenskii, *Istoricheskii obzor deiatel'nosti Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia. 1802–1902* (St Petersburg, 1902), pp. 388–393; S. M. Seredonin, *Istoricheskii obzor deiatel'nosti Komiteta ministrov 1802–1902* (St Petersburg, 1902), vol. 3, pp. 195–207.

<sup>18</sup> *Adres-kalendar'. Obshchaia rospis' nachal'stvuiushchikh i prochikh dolzhnostnykh lits po vsem upravleniiam v Rossiiskoi imperii* (St Petersburg, 1863–1916).



vice with a censorship committee quite frequently appear there a year or more late, and that the removal from the lists of individuals who have left or died may be overlooked. A variety of information on the organisation of work in the censorship organs, as well as descriptions of the censors themselves, can be found in the memoirs, diaries and correspondence of writers, journalists and censorship officials.<sup>19</sup>

The principal accumulation of documents which enables the history of the censorship organs to be compiled is to be found in nine archival holdings (*fondy*) at the Russian State Historical Archive: those of the Department of Public Education (F. 733); the Academic Committee of the Ministry of Public Education (F. 734); the Chancellery of the Ministry of Public Education (F. 735); the Chief Censorship Directorate (F. 772); the Special Chancellery of the Ministry of Public Education (F. 773); the Central Directorate of Censorship (F. 775); the Chief Press Directorate (F. 776); the St Petersburg Censorship Committee (F. 777); and the Foreign Censorship Committee (F. 779). These documents contain information on the structure of the censorship committees, the introduction of new functions, and staffing plans. The basic source of information on censorship personnel is to be found in the censors' individual files with their records and certificates of service.

It is planned to publish the results of the study in the form of a directory. This will consist of an introductory chapter, the data on individuals, and a set of indexes. The main bulk of the work will be the bio-bibliographical entries. The biographical part will contain information on the origins, education and service record of each censor. The work's information content will be enriched by the bibliographical part of the entries, which will give directions for finding additional material on the censors and will include references to archival documents, particulars of printed materials by the censors on various aspects of the censorship, and mentions of them in published research and memoirs. The entries for individuals will be organised according to the various censorship institutions: first the central organs of censorship, then the local organs in alphabetical order of towns, subdivided into internal and foreign censorships, and the press inspectorate. The introductory chapter will describe the development of the system of censorship organs in central Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Caucasia, Siberia and the Far East, with their structures, staffing, and the censors' rights and duties.

The study will help to answer these questions: how was surveillance of the press organised in Russia from the end of the eighteenth to the beginning

<sup>19</sup> Cf.: N. G. Patrusheva, 'Professiiia—tsenzor (Po dokumentam i vospominaniiam)', in: *U mysli stoiia na chasakh . . . : Tsenzory Rossii i tsenzura* (St Petersburg, Izd-vo S.-Peterburgskogo un-ta, 2000), pp. 24–37; and N. G. Patrusheva, 'Tsenzura v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka v vospominaniakh sovremennikov', in: *Tsenzura v Rossii: Istoriiia i sovremennost. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, Vyp. 1 (St Petersburg, 2001), pp. 95–101.

of the twentieth century? What kind of people became censors? How many officials made up the censorship and how much did it cost the Treasury to maintain them? What was the legal status of their profession? The biographical information will make it possible to construct a statistical portrait of the average censor at different times within the period concerned and in different regions of Russia.

Some preliminary findings made in the course of our research can be summarised as follows. The structure of the censorship organs in the different regions of Russia (the censorship committees, the individual censors and the press inspectorates) was determined by their geographical location, the composition of the population, the printing resources available, and the quantity of publications being imported from abroad. The structure was altered repeatedly over the decades and the staffing of the censorship was increased. The changes chiefly affected the censorship organs in the provinces. Until 1850 it was a feature of their local organisation that officials carried a combined responsibility for both internal and foreign censorship.

In those towns where there were no censorship organs, works intended for printing and books sent from abroad were passed to the nearest censorship committee or individual censor. Besides the censors on the regular staff, much of the work was done by officials who were not on the staff of the censorship organs and acted on a voluntary basis for—but sometimes without—a fee. As a result, the censorship of privately-owned periodicals, and of the non-official sections of *guberniia* gazettes, was performed by high-school teachers in the first half of the nineteenth century, and after that by officials of the *guberniia* administration. From the mid-nineteenth century the examination of works in foreign languages, and in the languages of the non-Russian nationalities in the Empire, was carried out by university professors and officials of the Ministries of Public Education and of Internal Affairs.

The amount spent by the government to maintain the censorship committees increased continually. In 1828 forty censorship officials were employed at an annual cost of 113,700 roubles, while in 1905 the staff numbered 144 and no less than 480,680 roubles was spent in a year on the censorship. It should be noted that increased government expenditure on the censorship is largely explained by the expansion of the institutional network and not by any increase in officials' salaries, which at the beginning of the twentieth century lagged seriously behind those paid to staff of the same rank in other ministries. The volume of work performed by the censors during the period under study did indeed increase, but to different extents in the central and local censorship organs. The workload of the St Petersburg and Moscow censors was always markedly greater than that of officials in the provinces.

Examination of the service records of censorship officials allows us to make a certain number of generalisations. During the first half of the nineteenth



century we can observe quite a rapid turnover in censors, for the majority of whom censorship was not their principal employment, but temporary and often short-term work. The censors included men of letters (writers, journalists and publicists), lawyers, mathematicians, historians, doctors and former military men. Individuals with university degrees formed a notable (and fairly large) group. Later on, censorship work tended to become a person's sole, or at any rate principal, employment. Censors' duties were usually given to officials in the Ministry of Internal Affairs or to those who had been transferred there from other ministries. Confirmation in such a post depended on showing oneself to be a serious, knowledgeable and efficient worker as well as a reliable citizen. It was therefore officials aged from thirty and forty who were usually appointed as censors, and it was quite common for them to continue to work as such until their retirement. The press inspectorate was on the whole composed of younger men, whose term of service tended to be shorter.

The majority of censors were from gentry families and had received a higher education. Those working in the foreign censorship, and many in the internal censorship, commanded several foreign (including Oriental) and national languages. The official status of the censors' profession was a high one: its officials held posts in the seventh to fourth classes of the Table of Ranks, from Court Councillor (*nadvornyi sovetnik*) up to Full State Councillor (*deistvitel'nyi statskii sovetnik*).

The directory has been compiled by a group of authors, and contains about 1500 names. The sections on Moscow, the Baltic *gubernii* and Kazan'<sup>20</sup> have already been completed. Work is in progress on the sections on the Foreign Censorship Committee and the St Petersburg Censorship Committee, in parallel with the compilation of a bibliography of works on the censorship which will form the basis for the bibliographical part of the entries.

Translated from Russian by Gregory Walker

<sup>20</sup> Cf.: N. A. Grinchenko and N. G. Patrusheva, 'Tsenzory Moskvyy, 1804–1917: (Annotirovannyi spisok)', *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, No. 44 (2000), pp. 409–433. The article 'Istoriia tsenzurnykh uchrezhdenii Pribaltiiskikh gubernii. Konets XVIII v.–1917 g.' has been accepted for publication in the eleventh issue of the collective work *Knizhnoe delo v Rossii v XIX–nachale XX v.*

# International Copyright for Digital Collections of Russian Material: U.S. and U.K. Law and Practice<sup>\*</sup>

Janice T. Pilch

## Introduction

Among the many ways in which the digital revolution has had an impact on libraries is in the expectation that libraries will make available to researchers and other members of society collections that might otherwise be neglected or lost due to their obscurity or physical condition. In the process of creating digital library collections, nevertheless, numerous questions arise concerning the applicability of copyright law to the materials selected for digitization. Managers of Slavic and East European digitization projects increasingly confront complex questions relating to national and international copyright law, and sometimes find themselves on unclear territory in attempting to avoid liability for copyright infringement. Sorting out the role of laws in the country where the material originated or was first published from those of the country where the material is being used, and applying the provisions of relevant international copyright treaties and intellectual property agreements, is not an easy or straightforward task. There is no single source of information on the subject, and no simple set of rules to be followed, and copyright specialists often present surprising contradictions due to the many variables which must be taken into consideration.

This article attempts to synthesize legal content with the realities of copyright situations to reduce the doubt often faced by librarians undertaking digital collections. The material most often used in digital collections includes text and images, both published and unpublished, which in copyright terminology fall into the categories of literary and artistic works and may include textual material in any format, as well as forms of expression such as drawings, paintings, illustrations, photographs, and maps. The complexities of copyright law and the variations in national laws are such that it would be difficult within the scope of a single article to cover use of material originating in all Slavic and East European countries, and therefore the focus of this article will be on use in the U.S. and U.K. of literary and artistic works originating or originally published in the Russian Federation and the former Russian republic of the USSR (RSFSR). This will provide a basis for understanding copyright as well as a comparative view of U.S. and U.K. legal practice. The aim of this article is to describe the broad strokes of copyright, with the understanding that nu-

<sup>\*</sup> This article is published on the basis that no legal liability is created thereby.



merous legal distinctions exist beyond the general scope of this article and that copyright is constantly changing. Even as it attempts to separate firm knowledge from gray areas, this article is not meant to substitute for legal counsel in a copyright situation.

Several assumptions will be made in this discussion. The first is that the digitization will be from print material, and second, that the digitization is meant for public display, and is not restricted technically to a specific user group. Digital collections created for public display eliminate some aspects of the copyright discussion in that fair use and fair dealing provisions practically by definition do not apply in these circumstances. An indefinite, unrestricted reproduction and display of copyrighted material, which in digitization projects tends to be of substantial portions or complete versions of works, even if it is for educational or research purposes, is unlikely to be justified by U.S. fair use or U.K. fair dealing provisions or acts permitted in relation to copyrighted works. We will look at two exceptions, concerning the last twenty years of protection under the Sonny Bono Copyright Extension Act in the U.S., and digitization for purposes of preservation, an activity allowed subject to specific rules in both the U.S. and U.K. Third, databases, which would require a more lengthy treatment, will not be included in this discussion.

### **Complexities of a copyright determination**

The problem with copyright in general, and even more so as it relates to foreign works, is that it is not simply a matter of arithmetic, that is, of counting the years of a copyright term from a starting point at creation or first publication, even for a particular class of works. There are many variables to consider when beginning an investigation. They are not always obvious. Variables include whether the work was published or remains unpublished; the nature of the work; the identity of the author; the country of origin of the work, based on the nationality of the author, the place of first publication, or other factors; whether the work was published simultaneously in another country; the international treaty relations of the country of origin and the country where the use is being made at the time the work was created or first published, as well as at the time of use; the identity of the copyright owner; and the character of the use. In addition, there are exceptions to consider for educational institutions, libraries and archives. At the end of this process, which serves just to determine whether the work is protected, one must, if it is protected, set out to locate the current copyright owner to seek permission to use the work.

### **International copyright treaties and conventions**

At the heart of this issue is the system of international treaties and conventions that has developed since the mid-nineteenth century to stipulate minimum standards and the principle of national treatment, whereby a treaty nation ap-

plies its own copyright laws to works originating in other treaty nations. There is no such thing as international copyright in terms of blanket protection or a uniform copyright term. Rather, the norms of international copyright are based in a system of multilateral, regional, and bilateral treaties on copyright and neighboring rights, and more recently, also in international trade agreements. These agreements set rules and standards for adherents and may be regarded by specific nations as self-executing, or directly applicable in a given country, or not self-executing, so that they must be implemented by national legislation specifying the details of the application in the given country. Both the U.S. and the U.K., in the British and Scandinavian constitutional tradition, regard copyright treaties as not self-executing.<sup>1</sup> But both nations have implemented in their national legislation the minimum standards and mandatory provisions of treaties to which they are parties.

It is also important to understand the relationship of these treaties to one another. A hierarchical principle orders the relevance of the treaties, based on language in the treaties themselves.<sup>2</sup> Of treaties offering protection to literary and artistic works, the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (Berne Convention) has the highest authority, followed by the Universal Copyright Convention (UCC), and then bilateral agreements that might exist between nations. But since neither the USSR nor the Russian Federation entered into bilateral copyright agreements with the U.S. or the U.K., such agreements do not need to be discussed here. The USSR did not enter into bilateral copyright agreements with capitalist countries until it concluded its first such agreement with Austria in 1983, followed by an agreement with Sweden in 1986 and with the Democratic Republic of Madagascar in 1989.<sup>3</sup>

Reciprocal copyright protection between two countries under an international copyright treaty takes effect at the moment that the treaty become effective for both countries. The U.S. joined the UCC on September 16, 1955. The USSR joined the UCC on May 27, 1973, and reciprocal copyright relations between the U.S. and the USSR were established on that date. The U.K. joined the UCC on September 27, 1957 and so reciprocal relations with the USSR were also established on May 27, 1973. This convention was the sole basis of copyright relations between the U.S. and USSR and between the U.K. and USSR until relations were established through the Berne Convention upon Russia's accession in 1995. For this reason, the date of May 27, 1973, when the UCC became effective for the USSR, for over twenty years was recognized by Slavic librarians in the U.S. and U.K. as the critical date determining reciprocal copyright protection with the USSR. In the U.S. and

<sup>1</sup> Paul Goldstein, *International Copyright* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 14–16.

<sup>2</sup> Goldstein (note 1), pp. 138–40.

<sup>3</sup> Corien Prins, *Computer Program Protection in the USSR: A New Era for Socialist Copyright Law* (Deventer, The Netherlands, Kluwer Law and Taxation Publishers, 1991), p. 132.



U.K., works by Soviet authors published before that date were in the public domain. The convention does not offer retroactive copyright protection. The role of the UCC has largely been superseded by that of the Berne Convention, so today it is far less relevant in discussions of copyright between these nations.

The U.S. became a party to the latest revision of the Berne Convention, the 1971 Paris Act, on March 1, 1989. The U.K. became a party to the Berne Convention on December 5, 1887 and to the Berne 1971 Paris Act on January 2, 1990. Since the Russian Federation adhered to the Berne 1971 Paris Act on March 13, 1995, that is the date on which the convention became effective for Russia, as the newer member, with respect to both the U.S. and the U.K.

Another significant treaty for the subject matter being discussed in this article is one of two World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) treaties concluded on December 20, 1996. The WIPO Copyright Treaty, which went into effect on March 6, 2002, expands on aspects of the Berne Convention not sufficiently addressed in the 1971 Paris Act, to adapt copyright to the digital age. The treaty protects the exclusive rights of copyright holders to the electronic use of their works and it confirms that the right of reproduction is fully applicable in the digital environment. This fact eliminates any question that a digital reproduction is considered just like any other reproduction for purposes of copyright. The treaty should be viewed in the context of the Berne Convention, as it applies to all members who have joined the Convention. The WIPO Copyright Treaty is reflected in U.S. law by the Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA), signed into law on October 28, 1998, resulting in changes and adding a new Chapter 12 to the U.S. Copyright Act, and in the U.K. by amendments to the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (CDPA 1988).

### **International trade agreements**

Aside from international copyright treaties, there are multilateral trade agreements to consider, as they affect the kind of works being discussed in this article. The Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS Agreement) was implemented by the Uruguay Round Agreements Act on December 8, 1994 that led to the formation of the World Trade Organization (WTO). It applies to members of the WTO, and is also closely connected to the 1971 Paris Act of the Berne Convention. The TRIPS Agreement took effect for the U.S. and U.K., as developed countries, on January 1, 1996, and is recognized for its strict enforcement provisions. Of utmost significance for the discussion of Russian materials being used in the U.S. and U.K. is the obligation of members to comply with Articles 1–21 of the Berne Paris Act, except Article 6*bis* on moral rights, an obligation which has made copyright restoration a condition of membership in the WTO. The Russian



Federation has not yet become a member of the WTO, but serves as an observer government and is negotiating membership.

### **Copyright restoration under the Berne Convention and the TRIPS Agreement**

Russia's entry into the Berne Convention diminished the influence of the UCC for the U.S. and U.K. largely because Article 18 of the Berne Convention requires restoration of copyright to works that 'have not fallen into the public domain in the country of origin through the expiry of the term of protection', at the moment of the coming into force of the convention with respect to a new member state. The meaning of the phrase 'through the expiry of the term of protection' is taken to mean due to expiration of the term of protection. In other words, works that have fallen into the public domain in the country of origin because their term has expired will not be protected under Article 18; but works that may have fallen into the public domain for reasons other than expiration of the copyright term, such as noncompliance with formalities for notice, registration, or renewal, will be restored. While the Berne Convention requires compliance with Article 18, there is strict enforcement of this provision under the TRIPS Agreement. The U.S., for instance, failed in its Berne Convention Implementation Act of 1988 to provide for copyright restoration, but the TRIPS Agreement, which took effect for developed countries on January 1, 1996, requires the U.S. to fulfill its obligations with respect to copyright as a member of the WTO. The TRIPS Agreement, by its own terms, is not self-executing, and the U.S. implemented TRIPS as part of the Uruguay Round Agreements Act of 1994 by amending the 1976 Copyright Act.

There has been considerable confusion in recent years among managers of Slavic collections in the West and even within Russia as to the status of the UCC in relation to the Berne Convention, with respect to works originating in the USSR before May 27, 1973. For some time after Russia joined the Berne Convention, Slavic librarians seemed unaware of the profound impact of the event for pre-1973 works produced in the USSR, up to then considered to be in the public domain in the U.S. and U.K. It is worth repeating that the date of May 27, 1973 at this point in time is almost irrelevant in copyright determinations, in view of the retroactive protection applied by Article 18 of the Berne Convention. The basis for this retroactivity lies in the copyright law of the Russian Federation itself. The 1993 copyright law of the Russian Federation restored copyright to many works for which copyright had expired under Soviet law.<sup>4</sup> Soviet law generally granted copyright terms lasting for

<sup>4</sup> Peter B. Maggs, 'Mutual Restoration of Russian and United States Copyright', *Parker School Journal of East European Law*, 3, no. 1 (1996), pp. 305–24 (pp. 306–07).



the life of the author plus fifteen or twenty-five years. The 1993 law grants a copyright term lasting for the life of the author plus fifty years, or in some cases fifty years from publication, it is retroactive, and it was in effect on March 13, 1995 when Russia joined the Berne Convention, and on January 1, 1996 when the TRIPS Agreement, which incorporated Article 18, became effective for the U.S. and the U.K. All works on which copyright had not expired under the 1993 law of the Russian Federation on January 1, 1996, according to the terms of duration set in that law, were to become protected in the U.S. and the U.K. This includes a vast number of pre-1973 works originating in the USSR. It must be noted here that there is still some legal uncertainty as to whether works that had expired in the country of origin (under the Soviet term) and then were restored (by the Russian Federation) are protected by the retroactive provisions of the Berne Convention and TRIPS. Notwithstanding this uncertainty, the best approach for librarians is to treat the works as if they are protected, applying the U.S. or U.K. term of protection to them, until a legal precedent has been set.

In the U.S. the TRIPS Agreement is reflected in amendments to sections 104A and 109 of the 1976 Copyright Act and a new Chapter 11. And while the minimum duration of copyright granted by the Berne Convention is a general term of the life of the author plus fifty years, Article 7 (8) stipulates that the term shall be governed by the law of the protecting country, and unless the legislation of that country otherwise provides, it shall not exceed the term set in the country of origin. U.S. law contains a provision on the term of protection for restored works, stated as 'for the remainder of the term of copyright that the work would have otherwise been granted in the United States if the work never entered the public domain in the United States'.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the copyright for a restored work will last for the remainder of the term stipulated in U.S. law, as though the work had been created or published in the U.S., according to sections 301–305 of the Copyright Act.

The U.K. is also obligated to restore foreign works under the terms of the TRIPS Agreement. Under U.K. law the term provided to a restored foreign work is calculated differently. As will be discussed later, Council Directive 93/98/EEC of October 29, 1993 harmonizing the term of protection of copyright and certain related rights of the Council of the European Communities (E.C. Term Directive) obligates member states to apply the rule of comparison of terms, also described as the rule of the shorter term, to foreign works.<sup>6</sup> Following the directive, U.K. law applies the shorter of the current term set in U.K. law or the term in the country of origin. Section 12(6) of the CDPA 1988 states: 'Where the country of origin of the work is not an EEA state and

<sup>5</sup> United States, 1976 Copyright Act §104A.

<sup>6</sup> Council Directive 93/98/EEC of October 29, 1993 harmonizing the term of protection of copyright and certain related rights, Article 7.



the author of the work is not a national of an EEA state, the duration of copyright is that to which the work is entitled in the country of origin, provided that does not exceed the period which would apply under subsections (2) to (5)' (those subsections set out provisions based on a seventy-year term for literary, dramatic, musical, and artistic works). Since works in Russia are generally protected based on a fifty-year term, the Russian term generally applies.

### **The principle of national treatment**

As mentioned, a fundamental principle of international treaties and conventions is that of national treatment, whereby each member nation applies its own national copyright laws to works originating in other member nations. Therefore, it is U.S. or U.K. law which governs use in the U.S. or U.K., respectively, of works originating in the USSR or the Russian Federation from the time that mutual relations were established. Furthermore, since neither the U.S. nor U.K. treats international treaties as self-executing, we must turn to the language and terms in which treaty provisions are implemented in the domestic legislation of the U.S. and U.K., usually in the form of amendments to national copyright law or supplementary regulations, as we have already seen.

#### *United States copyright law*

In the U.S. copyright legislation was first enacted on May 31, 1790. General revisions to the 1790 Act were made in 1831 and 1870, and the Act underwent a major revision by the Copyright Act of 1909. The 1909 Act remained in effect until the 1976 Copyright Act came into force on January 1, 1978. It has been amended several times. The most significant amendments for this discussion are the Sonny Bono Copyright Term Extension Act of 1998 and the DMCA. The 1909 Copyright Act still governs certain aspects of copyright. The 1909 and 1976 Acts, as amended, would be the most relevant in a discussion of Soviet and Russian material being used in the U.S. today.

#### *United Kingdom copyright law*

The first copyright act in the U.K., the Statute of Anne 1709, came into force on April 10, 1710. It was amended by the Copyright Act 1814; the 1709 and 1814 Acts were superseded by the Copyright Act 1842. The Fine Arts Copyright Act 1862 for the first time protected paintings, drawings, and photographs. The Copyright Act 1911 came into force on July 1, 1912, repealing all but a few previous statutes on literary and artistic works. The Copyright Act of 1956, which came into force on June 1, 1957, repealed most sections of the 1911 Act. It was amended by the Design Copyright Act 1968. The CDPA 1988 which came into effect on August 1, 1989 repealed the 1956 Act, and remains in effect today. Since the CDPA 1988, there have been



revisions in copyright legislation as part of a movement to harmonize laws within the European Union. In the context of this discussion, the most significant amendments have been as a result of the Duration of Copyright and Rights in Performances Regulations 1995 (Duration Regulations), the Copyright and Related Rights Regulations 1996, and the Copyright (Librarians and Archivists)(Copying of Copyright Material) Regulations 1989 (hereafter referred to as the Library Regulations). The 1911, 1956, and 1988 Acts, as amended, could all come into play in a copyright determination for Soviet and Russian works being exploited in the U.K. today.

### **Determining the copyright status of a work**

The basic steps to be followed in a copyright determination include the following, although the process is not always as straightforward as it seems. Aside from the generally accepted notions that the work is an original work in fixed form and that the author is the creator of the work, it involves determination of the country of origin; the nature of the work, or class of subject matter to which it belongs; identification of the author; the scope of rights granted; the duration of the copyright term; and exceptions to exclusive rights, for example, for libraries and archives. It is essential to know which laws are applicable to the various aspects of a copyright determination.

#### **1. Determine whether reciprocal copyright relations exist between the country of origin of the work and the country where the work is being used.**

We have already discussed when reciprocal copyright relations were established between the former Soviet Union and the U.S. and the U.K. The less obvious factor in determining reciprocal relations is being sure that the country of origin is indeed the USSR or Russian Federation. While it would be tempting to assume that the country of origin is identical to the country of publication as indicated on the work itself, this is not always the case. In most cases the country of first publication in a work published in the USSR or the Russian Federation will be as indicated in the material, but one must allow for exceptions and for less obvious situations, for example, for Soviet *samizdat* or dissident works, or other formerly censored material, that might have been published for the first time during the Soviet era in Western countries, in Russian or in translation, and only subsequently published in the later years of the Soviet era in the USSR or after 1991 in the Russian Federation; or works published simultaneously in the USSR or Russia and in other countries, particularly since 1991. Years ago there was considerable controversy over Boris Pasternak's novel *Doctor Zhivago*, first published in Italy in Italian translation in 1958. Insofar as Italy was a member of the UCC and Berne Convention, the work was granted full protection in all member states of both conventions,

and remains protected under Italian law.<sup>7</sup> Many of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's novels, including *August 1914*, *Cancer Ward*, *First Circle*, and *Gulag Archipelago*, were first published in the West and only later were published in Russia. It is critical to know the history of any work that might have been published in circumstances that are not apparent, because one might find that the country of origin is in fact not Russia or the Soviet Union at all.

U.S. law determines the country of origin from several aspects, including nationality or domicile of the author, and place of publication. The U.S. grants protection to unpublished works without regard to the nationality or domiciliary of the author. In other words, unpublished works are protected in the U.S. regardless of their country of origin; reciprocal copyright relations need not exist. It protects published works if, on the date of first publication, one or more of the authors is a national or domiciliary of the U.S. or of a foreign nation that is party to a copyright treaty to which the U.S. is also a party, or is a stateless person, among other possible conditions. It also extends protection to works first published in a foreign country that is a treaty party on the date of first publication.<sup>8</sup>

In the U.S. for purposes of copyright in restored works, the term 'source country' is defined in Section 104A of the 1976 Copyright Act as a nation other than the U.S. In the case of an unpublished work, it is the eligible country of which the author or rightholder, or majority of foreign authors or rightholders, are nationals or domiciliaries; or if the majority of authors or rightholders are not foreign, the nation other than the U.S. which 'has the most significant contacts with the work'. In the case of a published work, the source country is the eligible country in which the work was first published, or if it was published on the same day in two or more eligible countries, the country which has the most significant contacts with the work.

The U.K. approaches the question of country of origin a little differently, but whenever possible it is based on first publication. Section 15A of the CDPA 1988 contains provisions for determining the country of origin for purposes of duration of copyright; they closely follow the provisions in the Berne Convention. Thus, the country of origin of a work first published in a Berne Convention country is that country; if the work is first published simultaneously in two or more countries, only one of which is a Berne Convention country, then that country is considered the country of origin. If more than one country is a Berne Convention country, and any of those countries is an EEA state (a country of the European Economic Area), the country of origin is that country. If none of the countries is an EEA state, the country of origin is the Berne Convention country granting the shortest period of copyright

<sup>7</sup> Michael A. Newcity, *Copyright Law in the Soviet Union* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1978), p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> U.S. 1976 Copyright Act §104.



protection. If the work is unpublished or if its first publication is in a country which is not a Berne Convention country and the work is not simultaneously published in a Berne country, in most cases the country of origin is the country of which the author is a national.

**2. Identify the nature, or class, of the work** and determine whether the national copyright law of U.S. or U.K. protects or protected this class of material according to the law in effect when it was created or first published.

As a rule, this will be determined by the law of the protecting country. A glance at U.S. and U.K. copyright law shows that the formats most often used in digital collections—text and images such as drawings, paintings, illustrations, photographs, and maps—published and unpublished, have all been categories eligible for copyright protection for most of the twentieth century, and certainly for the time period which would involve a work being digitized today. It is interesting to see the differences in the way that classes of works have been protected in the U.S. and U.K. over time.

## United States

*U.S. 1909 Copyright Act.* The 1909 Copyright Act provided protection to classes of works including: books, including composite and encyclopedic works, directories, gazetteers, and other compilations; periodicals, including newspapers; lectures, sermons, and addresses; maps; works of art; models or designs for works of art; reproductions of a work of art; drawings or plastic works of a scientific or technical character; photographs; prints and pictorial illustrations including prints or labels used for articles of merchandise.<sup>9</sup>

*U.S. 1976 Copyright Act.* Within the scope of the 1976 Copyright Act currently in effect, textual material falls within the category of ‘literary works’, defined in turn as ‘works, other than audiovisual works, expressed in words, numbers, or other verbal or numerical symbols or indicia, regardless of the nature of the material objects, such as books, periodicals, manuscripts, phonorecords, films, tapes, disks, or cards, in which they are embodied’.

Pictorial, graphic, and sculptural works form another category, defined as ‘two-dimensional and three-dimensional works of fine, graphic, and applied art, photographs, prints and art reproductions, maps, globes, charts, diagrams, models, and technical drawings, including architectural plans’. In addition, current U.S. law defines a narrower category of ‘work of visual art’ consisting of paintings, drawings, prints, sculptures, or still photographic images existing in a single copy or in a limited edition of 200 signed and numbered copies or fewer. Since libraries would rarely deal with ‘works of visual art’ as defined here, we will not be concerned with this category, but it is important to

<sup>9</sup> United States, 1909 Copyright Act §5.

know that it exists apart from other pictorial, graphic, and sculptural works.<sup>10</sup> Maps will be protected in the U.S. only to the extent of cartographer's original contribution to underlying facts.

### United Kingdom

*U.K. Copyright Act 1911.* The Copyright Act 1911 protected original literary, dramatic, musical, and artistic works. 'Literary works' included maps, charts, plans, tables, and compilations; 'artistic works' included works of painting, drawing, sculpture, and artistic craftsmanship, architectural works of art, engravings, and photographs.<sup>11</sup>

*U.K. Copyright Act 1956.* The Copyright Act 1956 protected original, literary, dramatic, musical, and artistic works. It defined 'literary work' as 'any written table or compilation'. The definition of 'artistic work' included paintings, sculptures, drawings, engravings and photographs, works of architecture, and other works of artistic craftsmanship. It defined 'drawing' as 'any diagram, map, chart or plan'.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to note that this law changed the classification of maps, charts, and plans from literary to artistic works.

The 1956 Act also for the first time granted protection to the typographical arrangement of published editions of literary, dramatic, or musical works, for a period of twenty-five years from the end of the calendar year in which the edition was first published.<sup>13</sup> Since the addition of this provision, U.K. law has distinguished between the content of the work and the physical layout of the edition, with authors generally holding initial copyright to their original content and publishers holding copyright to the typographical design of the work. This is important for digital projects in that both the author, if he or she has retained copyright, and the publisher, need to grant permission for use of the work before expiration has occurred. In any case, after expiration of the twenty-five-year typographical copyright, with permission from the author or subsequent copyright holder on the content, a digital reproduction or reprint of the edition could be made without seeking permission from the publisher. Thus it is important to distinguish between an older edition that is out of copyright and any newer edition that might be in its twenty-five year term of typographical arrangement copyright.

*U.K. Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.* In the U.K. the CDPA 1988, as amended, provides copyright protection to original literary, dramatic, musical or artistic works. 'Literary work' is defined as 'any work, other than a dramatic or musical work, which is written, spoken, or sung', and accordingly

<sup>10</sup> U.S. 1976 Copyright Act §101.

<sup>11</sup> United Kingdom, Copyright Act 1911 §35(1).

<sup>12</sup> United Kingdom, Copyright Act 1956 §3, 48.

<sup>13</sup> U.K. Copyright Act 1956 §15.



includes a table or compilation other than a database; a computer program; preparatory design material for a computer program; or a database. The 1988 Act defines 'artistic work' to include 'a graphic work, photograph, sculpture or collage, irrespective of artistic quality'. The term graphic work was a new term in the CDPA 1988, and encompasses paintings, drawings, diagrams, maps, charts and plans, as well as engravings, etchings, lithographs, woodcuts and similar works.<sup>14</sup> Maps are treated as artistic works in what concerns the original artistic features of the map, and copyright also subsists in the selection, arrangement, and presentation of features. It is also important to note that maps may also be treated as compilations of information, and as such fall into the category of literary works.<sup>15</sup> The Act retained copyright on typographical arrangements of published editions for a term of twenty-five years from the end of the calendar year in which the edition was first published.

An amendment to the CDPA 1988 of particular relevance to digital projects involves the new intellectual property right known as the publication right. Introduced in the Copyright and Related Rights Regulations 1996, with effect from December 1, 1996, the publication right is designed to encourage publication of previously unpublished works in which copyright has expired. The regulations define publication liberally, as 'any communication to the public' including, among other methods, 'making the work available by means of an electronic retrieval system'. The right is granted to any national of an EEA state who publishes for the first time within the EEA a literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work or a film that has never been published and that has fallen out of copyright. Works that were never protected by copyright are not eligible. The term of protection is twenty-five years from the end of the calendar year in which the work is first published. Because the UCC and the Berne Convention require that unpublished works be protected in member states regardless of the date when reciprocal protection takes effect, unpublished works originating in the USSR or Russian Federation and copyrighted there would have been eligible for protection at some point in the U.K., as long as they met the requirements for eligibility in the U.K. Such works would therefore be eligible for the publication right when their term expires.

An important consideration with respect to the publication right is ensuring that unpublished works in question were at some point eligible for copyright under U.K. law. Because the Copyright Act 1911 protected unpublished literary, dramatic, and musical works and engravings in existence when it came into force, all such works would have been copyrighted at some point in the U.K. and would be eligible for the publication right. However, unpublished artistic works other than engravings (such as drawing, paintings, and pho-

<sup>14</sup> United Kingdom, Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 §3(1), 4(1)(a), 4(2).

<sup>15</sup> *Copinger and Skone James on Copyright*, edited by Kevin Garnett, Jonathan Rayner James, and Gillian Davies, 14th edn, 2 vols (London, Sweet & Maxell, 1999), I, 442.

tographs) are more problematic. It has been interpreted that since no copyright existed for unpublished paintings, drawings, and photographs created before 1862 by an artist or creator who died before 1855, or for unpublished sculptures created before July 1, 1862, such works would not be eligible for the publication right. Finally, the publication right allows works to be published only with the consent of the owner of the physical work. This means that control over digital publications would still rest with the library or archive owning the material, and outside persons could digitize unique material in a library or archival collection only with permission.<sup>16</sup>

*Works eligible for protection in the RSFSR and Russian Federation.* While it is the law of the protecting country that defines the types of works it protects, in it still necessary to know how the USSR and the Russian Federation have defined works eligible for copyright. In particular one must understand the scope and duration of Russian copyright laws to determine whether a work was eligible for copyright protection in the Russian Federation at the time that copyright restoration would have occurred. Some works were not eligible for restoration because they were never protected in the USSR or Russian Federation.

It is helpful to know that some basic concepts originating in the law of the USSR have been retained for most of the twentieth century and are present in the current law of the Russian Federation. Copyright in the USSR was regulated both by national legislation of the Soviet government and by legislation adopted on the level of the union republics. The first comprehensive national copyright law of the USSR, the Fundamentals of Copyright Law (*Osnovy avtorskogo prava*), was enacted in 1925. A new copyright statute was adopted in 1928 which remained in effect until the Soviet government revised the copyright statutes in 1961 and integrated them within the civil code of the USSR, the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics (*Osnovy grazhdanskogo zakonodatel'stva Soiuzs SSR i respublik*) which came into force on May 1, 1962. In 1973 in connection with the USSR's accession to the UCC, the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics underwent a further revision. In connection with plans of the USSR to join the Berne Convention, the copyright law was revised in 1991 and was expected to take effect on January 1, 1992 but due to political events this did not happen. However, the Russian Federation adopted a new Fundamentals of Civil Legislation (*Osnovy grazhdanskogo zakonodatel'stva*) on August 3, 1992. On August 3, 1993 the new copyright law of the Russian

<sup>16</sup> United Kingdom, Copyright and Related Rights Regulations 1996; Copinger and Skone James, I, 875–99; Lionel Bentley and William R. Cornish, 'United Kingdom', in *International Copyright Law and Practice*, edited by Paul Edward Geller. 2 vols (New York, Matthew Bender, 1988–), II, 1–143 (pp. 135–36); Graham P. Cornish, *Copyright: Interpreting the Law for Libraries, Archives and Information Services*, 3rd edn (London, Library Association Publishing, 1999), p. 85.



Federation, the law 'On Copyright and Related Rights' ('Ob avtorskom prave i smezhnykh pravakh') came into force; it was amended on July 19, 1995 and remains in effect today.

In the USSR copyright legislation also existed on the union republic level. The republic legislation also needs to be considered when determining any aspect of copyright law. The first copyright statute of the RSFSR was enacted on October 11, 1926. On October 8, 1928 a revised law went into effect. In 1964 copyright was incorporated into the civil code of the RSFSR, which was amended several times, the last time being in 1991.<sup>17</sup>

From the 1925 Soviet legislation to the 1993 legislation of the Russian Federation, copyright law has protected works of literature, science and art, both published and unpublished, expressed in an objective form. The 1925 and 1928 Soviet national laws and subsequently the civil codes of the RSFSR included detailed lists of the types of works protected, which included written works (books, articles, collections), oral works (speeches, lectures, reports), musical and musical-dramatic works, drawings, works of art, sculpture, architecture and graphic arts, illustrations, maps, photographic works, and many more. The current law of the Russian Federation provides a listing of protected types of works which, though not in itself exhaustive, does include a large number of categories and includes the types of works which are the subject of this article.

Copyright protection has never been extended in the RSFSR or Russian Federation to laws, judicial decisions, or other official documents. However, it has been interpreted that a compiler of such documents, provided that his or her treatment were creative, could be entitled to copyright in such a work as a derivative work, even though the documents themselves would not be copyrighted.<sup>18</sup> Article 8 of the 1993 Russian copyright law explicitly states that the following works are not copyrightable: official documents (laws, court rulings, and other legislative, administrative, or judicial texts), or their translations; state emblems and symbols; works of folk art; and statements of events and facts of an informational nature. This means that, at least for the purposes of

<sup>17</sup> Newcity (note 7), pp. 20–31; A. P. Sergeev, *Avtorskoe pravo Rossii* (St Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta, 1994), pp. 13–16; Serge L. Levitsky, 'An Outline of Soviet Copyright Law', in Serge L. Levitsky and William B. Simons, *Copyright in Russia and the USSR* (Vienna, Manzschel Verlags- und Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1985), pp. 1–28. Soviet national copyright laws were as follows: 'Osnovy avtorskogo pravo' (*Sobranie zakonov SSSR*, no. 7, Article 67, 1925); 'Osnovy avtorskogo pravo' (*Sobranie zakonov SSSR*, no. 27, Article 246, 1928); *Osnovy grazhdanskogo zakonodatel'stva Soiuza SSR i respublik* (Articles 96–106, 1961, as amended through 1991). Copyright laws of the RSFSR were as follows: 'Ob avtorskom prave' (*Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabocheho i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva Rossiiskoi Sotsialisticheskoi Federativnoi Sovetskoi Respubliki*, no. 72, Article 567, 1926); 'Ob avtorskom prave' (*Sobranie uzakonenii RSFSR*, no. 132, Article 861, 1928); 'Avtorskoe pravo' (*Grazhdanskii kodeks RSFSR*, Articles 475–516, 1964, as amended through 1991).

<sup>18</sup> Newcity (note 7), p. 54.

copyright restoration, laws and other official government documents did not meet the requirements for protection in the U.S. and U.K.

Notwithstanding the requirements for copyright restoration, it has been suggested that works of foreign governments should be treated as they are in the country where they originate, such that if Russia does not protect its government's documents, another government should not be obliged to do so, but that publications of other governments are generally protected in the U.K. like ordinary commercial foreign publications.<sup>19</sup> This author has not found any provisions in U.S. or U.K. law treating this question, and considers this area to be somewhat unclear. For purposes of restoration it seems clear that official government documents of the USSR or Russian Federation are not protected since they were not under copyright in Russia at the time that restoration took effect. Works such as maps and photographs published by the federal government are another matter, and it would be wise not to assume that they are in the public domain, since they generally involve a certain degree of originality.

**3. Identify the author, ascertain whether the author is alive, and if not, the year of the author's death, and ascertain ownership of copyright.**

The notion of the author as creator of the work is one of the fundamental concepts behind U.S. and U.K. copyright law. Duration of copyright based on the natural life of the author has applied to many works since 1978 in the U.S. and for most of the twentieth century in the U.K.

Several concepts need to be understood in order to approach questions of authorship generally. First, there is a distinction between the author and the owner of copyright in a work. While the author, or in the case of a joint work, authors, are generally the initial holders of copyright, copyright can be legally assigned or transferred to a publisher or another entity at any time, and it can be inherited (there is an exception in the case of works made for hire, or in the course of employment, as defined by U.S. and U.K. laws respectively, as initial copyright vests with the employer). Second, the term of copyright is determined with respect to the identity of the author, never with respect to the identity of the copyright owner. Transfers of copyright do not affect the copyright term. Transfer of copyright is a complex legal issue, and determining current ownership of copyright in a work is not often an easy process. But because it does not affect the basic task of determining whether a work is still under copyright, since generally copyright is based on the natural life of the author or the date of creation or publication, it will not be discussed as such here. Third, over time as copyright legislation has advanced, most nations have made changes in the legal definition of authors. It is imperative when ascertaining questions of authorship and initial ownership to refer to the legal

<sup>19</sup> Graham P. Cornish (note 16), p. 33.



definition of the author that was in effect at the time the work was created or first published in the country where that occurred.<sup>20</sup>

U.S. law regards the author as the creator of the work. It regards joint authors as creators of a joint work that consists of an inseparable whole, in which the contributions of each author are not distinct from those of the other authors. In U.S. law, a collective work consists of a number of independent contributions by separate authors, each of whom will hold copyright to his or her work. A compilation is a work formed by assembling preexisting materials arranged to create an original works of authorship; this category includes collective works.<sup>21</sup> Works of corporate authors are recognized in determining copyright duration, and are to be distinguished from works made for hire by individual authors. In the U.K. Sections 9–11 of the CDPA 1988 define the author generally as the creator of the work, but with respect to literary, dramatic, musical and artistic works do not provide any further definition, except concerning computer-generated works. Joint authors are creators of a joint work in which the contributions of each author are not distinct from those of the other authors. Authorship in collective works or compilations is recognized in connection with the work of each contributor, and there can be copyright in the work as a whole as well as in the individual contributions. U.K. law places more emphasis than U.S. law on authors being natural persons and does not establish a term of duration or otherwise refer to corporate authors as such. It has been suggested that in some cases works produced by legal entities might be treated as anonymous works.<sup>22</sup>

It is also important to know that neither the international copyright conventions nor the TRIPS Agreement specifies which law should be applied to determine authorship and ownership of literary and artistic works if this becomes a question: the law of the protecting country or the law of the work's country of origin. In the case of restored copyright for foreign works, the 1976 U.S. Copyright Act specifies that 'a restored work vests initially in the author or initial right holder of the work as determined by the law of the source country of the work'.<sup>23</sup> The U.K. Duration Regulations, which came into force on January 1, 1996, confer the right of revived copyright on the person who was the owner of copyright immediately before it expired or, if that person was deceased before January 1, 1996, the original author, or the original author's personal representatives.<sup>24</sup> However, some copyright specialists argue that the source of rules on authorship and initial ownership is the law of the country

<sup>20</sup> *Copinger and Skone James* (note 15), I, 181–93.

<sup>21</sup> U.S. 1976 Copyright Act §101.

<sup>22</sup> *Copinger and Skone James* (note 15), note, I, 185–93; Graham P. Cornish (note 16), pp. 28–29.

<sup>23</sup> U.S. 1976 Copyright Act §104A(b).

<sup>24</sup> *Copinger and Skone James* (note 15), I, 284.

that has the closest relationship to the author and the work, not the law of the protecting country, based among other considerations, on Article 5(1) of the 1971 Berne Paris Act which designates the law of the protecting country to govern only 'rights', and not questions of authorship or ownership.<sup>25</sup> It is sufficient to say that this issue is not fully resolved in international law.

Taking the view that questions of authorship should be determined by the law of the country that has the closest relationship to the author and the work, it is necessary to know how the USSR and Russian Federation have approached authorship. If one needs to do a thorough investigation of the status of an author, it is necessary to refer to the copyright law in existence at the time of creation or publication of the work.

Some aspects remain common throughout the provisions of Soviet copyright law, such as the basic principle that the author is the creator of an original work, the rule that copyright to certain works created in the course of employment belongs to the author or co-authors (in contrast to practice in the U.S. and U.K.); and the distinction between collective works that are an indivisible whole or those that consist of separate parts created by independent authors. Joint authorship was regarded as being a matter of agreement among the authors, with the right to use the work as a whole belonging to the co-authors jointly, while if the work was made up of separate parts, each author held copyright to his or her individual creation. Compilers of collective works to which copyright was assigned to individual authors were entitled to copyright in the collective work, provided that the rights of individual authors were respected. Contributors to encyclopedias, periodical publications, and scholarly and scientific series did not hold copyright to those works as a whole but only to their individual contributions. Beginning in the 1928 law, compilers of works that were not copyrighted (for example, on which the copyright had expired, official publications, ancient manuscripts, works of folklore), acquired copyright to the collection if they had provided a original treatment or arrangement, and derivative works were also granted copyright if they constituted a new and different work. Also, throughout Soviet copyright law in certain specified situations legal entities could hold copyright to works, one of these being for publishers of periodical publications and dictionaries. Soviet legislation was very restrictive about assigning copyright to legal entities, for the aim of copyright was to protect the rights of individual authors as creators of original works. Translators had copyright to their translations only, not to the original works, and Soviet law permitted freedom of translation of an author's work until the passage of the 1973 amendments to the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, which made

<sup>25</sup> Goldstein (note 1), pp. 102–04.



unauthorized translation an infringement.<sup>26</sup>

The current copyright law of the Russian Federation, which applies to works in their initial term of copyright and to all works for which copyright was restored under the terms of the TRIPS Agreement, stipulates that unless proven otherwise, the author is the entity indicated on the original work or copy of such work. For anonymous and pseudonymous works, the publisher is considered a representative of the author for purposes of copyright, unless the identity of the author is disclosed. Copyright to a jointly authored work belongs to the co-authors whether the work is an indivisible whole or is made up of independent parts. Each co-author has rights to his or her independent creation unless there is an agreement to the contrary. The right to use of the work as a whole belongs to the co-authors jointly. For collective works and compilations, the compiler enjoys the copyright to the selection and arrangement of materials provided that he or she complies with the individual copyright of each author. Each author has rights to his or her independent work unless there is an agreement to the contrary. Publishers of works such as encyclopedias, encyclopedic dictionaries, periodical and continuing scholarly collections, newspapers, journals, and other periodical publications possess the exclusive rights to use of such publications as a whole, while authors retain exclusive rights to their independent contributions. Translators and authors of other derivative works hold copyright to the derived work provided that they comply with the rights of the original author. Copyright to works created in the course of employment, with the exception of encyclopedias, encyclopedic dictionaries, etc., belongs to the author, as it did throughout the Soviet period, in contrast to U.S. and U.K. practice. However, exclusive rights to use of the work belong to the employer unless there is an agreement to the contrary.<sup>27</sup>

**4. Determine the scope of rights,** or the act restricted by copyright, under the law of the protecting country, in relation to the activities involved in the digitization project.

The scope of exclusive rights in copyrighted works under U.S. law encompasses reproduction; preparing derivative works; distributing copies to the public by sale or other transfer of ownership, or by rental, lease, or lending; performing the work publicly; displaying the work publicly; and performing the work publicly by means of a digital audio transmission.<sup>28</sup> Current U.K. law lists the acts restricted by copyright as copying the work; issuing copies to the public; renting or lending the work to the public; performing, showing,

<sup>26</sup> B. S. Antimonov and E. A. Fleishits, *Avtorskoe pravo* (Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo iuridicheskoi literatury, 1957), pp. 65–102; Levitsky (note 16), pp. 1–28; Newcity (note 7), pp. 51–69.

<sup>27</sup> Zakon Rossiiskoi Federatsii, no. 5351-I 'Ob avtorskom prave i smezhnykh pravakh' ot 9 iuliia 1993 g., as amended on July 19, 1995, Articles 9–12.

<sup>28</sup> U.S. 1976 Copyright Act §106.

or playing the work in public; broadcasting the work or including it in a cable programme service; and making an adaptation of the work or performing any of the above acts with respect to an adaptation.<sup>29</sup>

The rights generally involved in library digitization of older printed works include reproduction or copying, possibly preparing derivative works or adaptations based on the copyrighted works, if the project involves manipulation of the copyrighted works into a new creation, public distribution or issuance, and public display or showing of the work, all of which are the exclusive rights of the copyright owner. If the work is still protected, performing any of those actions will require permission from the copyright holder. We will later look at exceptions in the U.S and U.K. for reproduction and display of material digitized for preservation purposes.

**5. Apply the term of duration** as specified in the law in effect in the protecting country.

The term of duration for certain works will be based on the natural life of the author or authors, and for others it will be based on the date of creation or first publication as defined in national law. Although the duration is initially based on copyright law in effect at the time of creation or first publication of the work, with the passage of subsequent laws, terms of duration often change. U.S. and U.K. laws have methods for handling works that were in existence prior to the effective dates of new laws.

#### *United States terms of copyright duration*

Copyright duration for works in existence before the current U.S. law went into effect on January 1, 1978 is relatively easily to ascertain, because the U.S. has incorporated into sections 301–305 of the 1976 Copyright Act the terms for the various categories of works protected under the 1909 Copyright Act. The terms of duration stipulated in U.S. law for literary and artistic works will apply to the Soviet or Russian work as they do to works originating in the U.S., because the U.S. does not apply the rule of the shorter term. Works created from January 1, 1978 are entitled a copyright term of life of the author (or last surviving author for jointly authored works) plus seventy years. Works of corporate authorship, works made for hire, anonymous works, and pseudonymous works created from January 1, 1978 have a term of ninety-five years from publication or one hundred and twenty years from creation. Works published from January 1, 1923 to December 31, 1977 are protected in the U.S. for ninety-five years from the year of first publication. Unpublished works created before January 1, 1978 are protected for the life of the author plus seventy years or through December 31, 2002, whichever is greater, and if the work is published on or before December 31, 2002 the term of copyright

<sup>29</sup> U.K. CDPA 1988 §16(1).



will not expire before December 31, 2047. Works published before 1923 are in the public domain.

The Sonny Bono Copyright Term Extension Act of 1998 which extended copyright terms for an additional twenty years, bringing the term for most categories works from fifty to seventy years, contains a provision allowing for libraries, archives and nonprofit educational institutions to treat works in their last twenty years of protection as though they are in the public domain for purposes of preservation, scholarship or research, including digital display, subject to certain conditions: if the work is not subject to normal commercial exploitation, and if a copy cannot be obtained at a reasonable price. If the copyright owner provides notice that either of those conditions applies, use of the work must stop. In practical terms, this provision allows for greater freedom of use than the provisions for library and archival use set out in Section 108, discussed below, because fewer conditions apply, but the use must still be noncommercial and it does not apply to subsequent uses by users of the library or archives. In October 2002 the U.S. Supreme Court began hearing arguments in a case that challenged the constitutionality of the Sonny Bono Copyright Term Extension Act of 1998. However, the decision in *Eldred v. Ashcroft*, reached on January 15, 2003, upheld the constitutionality of the act and the twenty-year extension that Congress granted in 1998 to existing copyrights.

#### *United Kingdom terms of copyright duration*

Understanding how U.K. law applies to earlier works originating in the U.K. and in EEA countries is quite complex, involving transitional arrangements in both the 1956 and 1988 Acts for pre-existing works that must be considered separately. Both the 1956 Act and the CDPA 1988 presume to apply to works in existence at commencement as they apply to works created subsequently, but certain aspects of the previous laws have nonetheless continued to apply in successive laws, as set out in Schedule 7 of the 1956 Act and Schedule 1 of the CDPA 1988, respectively. This is largely due to the fact of successive extensions to the copyright term over time, so that new laws did not simply replace the older ones.

For most of the twentieth century copyright was based on a fifty-year term. The 1911 and 1956 Acts and the original CDPA 1988 based copyright on a fifty-year term. Beginning with the 1956 Act, this period was calculated from the end of the year of the author's death. Adoption by the Council of the European Communities of the E.C. Term Directive on October 29, 1993 led to an extension of the duration of copyright from fifty to seventy years and changed the manner in which it was calculated. Member states were given until July 1, 1995 to introduce the provisions necessary to implement the directive. The U.K. did so by the 1995 Duration Regulations, with effect

from January 1, 1996. Transitional provisions were implemented to provide for works already in existence on that date. The result is a complex scheme for treating works in existence before commencement of the original CDPA 1988 separately from those coming into existence after commencement of the Act; adding new terms of duration for works coming into existence after the Duration Regulations; and allowing works already in existence on the effective date of the Duration Regulations to be determined on the basis of the longer of either the term set by the original CDPA 1988 or the term of the CDPA 1988 as amended by the Duration Regulations.

The CDPA 1988, as amended, protects literary, dramatic, musical and artistic works, published and unpublished, coming into existence on or after January 1, 1996 for a period of seventy years from the end of the calendar year of the author's death; for works of joint authorship, the term is based on death of the last surviving author. Copyright for anonymous, pseudonymous literary, dramatic, musical or artistic works is for seventy years from the end of the year in which the work was made, unless during that period it was made available to the public (this term includes publication) in which case the term will be seventy years from the end of the year in which it was first made available to the public. If a work is of unknown authorship and the author becomes known before the end of the seventy-year term of protection from the year in which the work was made, or made publicly available, the work will be treated as a work of known authorship and the term will change to life of the author plus seventy years. Posthumous works made after August 1, 1989 are protected for the life of author plus seventy years, as long as author is known. Copyright in the typographical arrangement of a published edition lasts for twenty-five years from the end of the calendar year in which the edition was published.

Fortunately for Slavic librarians in the U.K., with the passage of the E.C. Term Directive and the Duration Regulations, determining the duration for non-EEA works, including works originating in the USSR or Russian Federation, is far simpler. They are protected for the same length of time that they would be protected under the 1993 law of the Russian Federation. This is because Article 7 of the E.C. Term Directive mandated the rule of the shorter term in calculating works originating in non-EEA states. The provision was implemented in section 12(6) of the amended CDPA 1988, which reads: 'Where the country of origin of the work is not an EEA state and the author of the work is not a national of an EEA state, the duration of copyright is that to which the work is entitled in the country of origin, provided that does not exceed the period which would apply under subsections (2) to (5).'

#### *Russian Federation terms of copyright duration*

And so, despite the fact that U.K. law determines the duration of copyright, because its provisions point to Russian copyright law as a basis for the term of



protection, that law also comes into play. The methodology for determining duration for works originating in the former RSFSR or Russian Federation is based, as mentioned, on the rule of comparison of terms, or the rule of the shorter term. The strategy is to ascertain the term under U.K. law, and then determine the duration provided in Russian law, and apply the shorter of the two terms. Practically speaking, the Russian term is currently shorter than the U.K. term, so the Russian term applies, and in the end this is quite a simple process.

The terms of duration are set out in Article 27 of the 1993 copyright law of the Russian Federation. Copyright terms are calculated from January 1 of the year following the year of the legal fact which serves as the basis for the term. Both published and unpublished works are the object of Russian copyright law, and the law provides protection to all categories of works being considered in this discussion. For works of known authorship, copyright lasts for the period of the life of the author plus fifty years. Copyright to anonymous or pseudonymous works lasts for fifty years from the date of first lawful publication, unless the author becomes known during this period, in which case the term will be as for a work of known authorship. Copyright to work of joint authorship is calculated from the death of the last surviving author. Copyright to a work published posthumously is effective for fifty years after its publication. In addition, copyright for a work of an author who was repressed and rehabilitated posthumously is calculated from January 1 of the year following the year of rehabilitation. If the author worked or participated in World War II, the period of protection for his or her works is increased by four years.

### **Special library and archive provisions for preservation and replacement**

As mentioned, the fair use exemptions in U.S. law and research and private study fair dealing provisions of U.K. law apply to foreign works as they apply to works originating in the U.S. and U.K. respectively, but such provisions would generally not justify the indefinite public display of entire works or large sections of works, even for purposes of research or education. Reproducing textual material or images in digital form for public reading, viewing or copying is a form of public distribution or issuance. Such activity is not permitted without proper permission under either U.S. or U.K. law. However, it is necessary to consider the provisions in both U.S. and U.K. law that allow for use of material by libraries and archives for preservation and security purposes and for making replacement copies.

Section 108 of the U.S. Copyright Act of 1976, as amended by the DMCA, allows libraries and archives that are open to the public or that allow access to their collections to those doing research in a specialized field to reproduce in digital form, for non-commercial purposes, up to three copies of a work

under certain conditions. Unpublished works may be reproduced digitally for purposes of preservation or security or for deposit for research use in another library or archive of the same type, if a copy of the work is currently in the collections of the library or archive and if the digital copy is not otherwise distributed in that format, and is not made available to the public in that format outside the premises of the library or archive. Up to three digital copies of published works may be made for the purpose of replacing works that are damaged, deteriorating, lost, or stolen, or if the existing format has become obsolete, if, after reasonable effort, the library or archive has determined that a replacement copy cannot be obtained at a fair price, and if the digital copy is not made available outside the premises of the library or archive in lawful possession of the copy. The digital copy must contain a notice of copyright or a legend stating that the work may be protected by copyright if no such notice can be found on the work.

Sections 28–76 of the U.K. CDPA 1988, along with the Library Regulations, deal with acts permitted in relation to copyrighted works notwithstanding the subsistence of copyright. Sections 37–43 of the CDPA 1988 treat acts specifically relating to libraries and archives. The regulations distinguish between libraries and archives that supply material and those that request and receive material. Any library or archive in the U.K. is allowed to supply copies for preservation and replacement. But only nonprofit libraries and archives prescribed under Schedule I of the Library Regulations may request and receive them. Generally speaking, libraries operating for profit are excluded from the latter category.

Section 42 of the CDPA 1988 and section 6 of the Library Regulations stipulate that, subject to certain conditions, a prescribed library or archive may make a copy of any item in its permanent collection to preserve or replace the item or to replace an item which has been lost, destroyed, or damaged in the permanent collection of another prescribed library or archive if it is not reasonably practicable to purchase a copy of the item in question. Only one copy may be made. The conditions involve preparation of a written statement from the other library or archive on the status of the work and payment for the replacement copy.

### **Some hypothetical situations**

It might now be helpful to apply the information discussed above to some hypothetical situations involving works originating in the former RSFSR or in the Russian Federation that might be considered for use in a digitization project.



- **A collection of poetry originally published in 1958, by a Russian poet who died in 1966.**

Since the author died in 1966, the work is protected in the Russian Federation for fifty years after the death of the author, or through 2016. It was therefore restored in the U.S. and U.K., and will be protected in the U.S. for ninety-five years after publication, or through 2053. In the U.K. it will be protected as in the Russian Federation, through 2016. Copyright on the typographical arrangement expired in the U.K. twenty-five years after publication, in 1983, so that in itself would not be a problem, were it not for the copyright held by the author.

- **An anthology of poetry published in 1925, containing works of various poets.**

Since each poet would have had copyright to his or her creative work, it would be necessary to find out when each poet died. On January 1, 1996 the U.S. and U.K. became obligated to restore copyright in works of Russian authors who were alive or who had died after December 31, 1945. If the librarian were conducting the digitization in January 2003, then works of authors who died after December 31, 1952 would still be protected in Russia and therefore in the U.K. It might be possible to digitize portions of the anthology, or even the whole work, depending on the status of the authors. In the U.S. protection would be based on the term of ninety-five years from publication, or through 2020.

- **A comprehensive work of history written by three authors and published in 1950. Two authors have died and one is still alive.**

Since the joint work is indivisible, and the contributions of the authors are not distinct from one another, the term will be based on the death of the last surviving author, so it is still protected.

- **A photograph made in 1960 and published in 1961, by an author who died in 1970.**

In the U.S. the photograph will be protected for ninety-five years from publication, or through 2056. In the U.K. it will be protected as in the Russian Federation, for fifty years from the author's death, or through 2020.

- **A collection of Soviet government statutes from 1917 through 1945.**

Since legal works were not specified in Soviet copyright law as being eligible for protection, these works were in the public domain in the USSR, and were not eligible for restoration under Article 18 of the Berne Convention or TRIPS Agreement. They are in the public domain in Russia, as well as in the U.S. and the U.K.

- **Unpublished memoirs of the head of bread factory during the siege of Leningrad in World War II, written in 1965 by an author who died in 1969.**

A work created in 1965 by an author who served in World War II and died in 1969 will be protected in Russia and the U.K. for fifty-four years following the author's death, or through 2023, and in the U.S. for seventy years following the author's death, or through 2039. It is interesting to note that under U.S. law, unpublished works created before January 1, 1978 are protected for the life of the author plus seventy years or through December 31, 2002, whichever is greater, but if the work is published (digitally or otherwise) on or before December 31, 2002 the term of copyright will not expire before December 31, 2047.

- **An anonymous article published in a journal in 1930.**

Anonymous works are protected by current Russian law for fifty years from publication. Therefore this work would not have been restored on January 1, 1996. In the absence of information on the author in order to ascertain his or her death, the work would be in the public domain in the U.S. and U.K.

- **A pseudonymous work of fiction published in 1970; date of creation is unknown.**

Pseudonymous works are protected by current Russian law for fifty years from publication. This work would have been restored and would be protected in Russia and the U.K. through 2020. In the U.S. the term would be the shorter of ninety-five years from publication or one hundred and twenty years from creation, so through 2065.

- **An unpublished diary created around 1980–85 by an author who died in 1990.**

The term in Russia and hence in the U.K. is life of the author plus fifty years, or through 2040. In the U.S. the term is life of the author plus seventy years, so the work would be protected through 2060.

- **For purposes of preservation, issues of a journal from the 1920s that were damaged in a flood.**

For preservation purposes three copies are allowed in the U.S. and one copy in the U.K., provided that the librarian complies with the provisions related to reproduction for library and archive preservation in the respective copyright laws.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> U.S. 1976 Copyright Act § 108; U.K. CDPA 1988 §42; United Kingdom, Copyright (Librarians and Archivists)(Copying of Copyright Material) Regulations 1989 §6.



## Conclusion

Approaching copyright in the U.S. and U.K. for materials produced in Russia is no longer a simple task, but with knowledge of basic concepts and a methodology for applying the appropriate national copyright laws, in most cases a librarian selecting materials for digitization should, at the very least, be able to distinguish between simple cases and more complex ones involving areas that are not fully resolved in copyright law or that require the legal expertise of a copyright specialist. This treatment of copyright is meant to enable librarians to make basic decisions on whether to proceed by learning that works are in the public domain or fall under an exception, or to seek permission for the use of works that are still protected, or to abandon the idea of using works in situations where the process of gaining permissions would be too elaborate or problematic. It is important to remember that the field of copyright is constantly changing, and with the growth of digital initiatives, an understanding of current intellectual property laws will be of increasing value to librarians managing academic and research collections. As international copyright law adapts to changes in information technology, the field of copyright is likely to play an even more important role in the library landscape.

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# The Tradition Continues: Russian Emigré Bibliography since 1917

Mark Kulikowski

As more than a decade has passed since the demise of the USSR, several remarkable transformations have taken place. The first was the validation and continuation within the Russian Federation of bibliographic work on Russians living abroad. Second came the relatively rapid change whereby emigré publications went from the periphery to the centre of modern Russian culture. Given all that has appeared and is appearing, it is safe to say that by now a third transformation has taken place: Russian emigré bibliography now has a history of its own in the Russian Federation. This is a story that is far from over. Future transformations are inevitable. However, given the recent and continuing torrent of materials appearing on this subject, it is necessary to see what has been accomplished and what remains to be done in this once neglected, overlooked and forbidden subject.<sup>1</sup>

## Universal Bibliography

Although not world-wide in scope, the only attempt at universal bibliography has been Olga Bakich's *Harbin Russian Imprints: Bibliography as History, 1898–1961*.<sup>2</sup> This massive volume, the result of a great deal of research, is truly an example of excellent bibliographical work. Its 47-page Introduction provides an in-depth examination of Russian emigré publishing in Harbin. The body of the work provides extensive information on 4261 publications of all types. Divided into two sections—books and serials—the book is further subdivided by topic in each section. Each subsection lists publications alphabetically by author. All entries are as complete as possible, with sources listed for each item. The book's third part is made up of a list of series and author and title indexes. As such, it is a major new resource for the study of Russian emigré bibliography. Its publication gives rise to an interesting question (and possibly a future research project): if this work covers over 4000 items for Harbin, what about Shanghai?

<sup>1</sup> This article is the fourth in a series. For earlier studies, see my 'A Neglected Source: The Bibliography of Russian Emigré Publications since 1917', *Solanus*, New series, 3 (1989), pp. 89–102; 'The Bibliography of Russian Emigré Publications since 1917: An Update', *Solanus*, New series, 9 (1995), pp. 15–23; and 'Russian Emigré Bibliography: Another Look', *Solanus*, New series, 14 (2000), pp. 58–67. Given the continuing instability in contemporary Russian publishing, this article does not claim to be comprehensive in its coverage.

<sup>2</sup> Olga Bakich, *Harbin Russian Imprints: Bibliography as History, 1898–1961. Materials for a Definitive Bibliography* (New York, Norman Ross Publishing, 2002).



### Bibliography of Books

In this category, we have the recent publication by David Arans, *Russkie knigi za rubezhom 1980–1995*.<sup>3</sup> Its 2845 entries are organised by subject. Within each subject the books are arranged in alphabetical order by author. Name and title indexes complete the work. It extends the coverage provided by the author's earlier volume *Bibliografiia russkikh knig, izdannykh za predelami SSSR 1980–1989*.<sup>4</sup> Given its importance, it is sad to see that this new volume was published in an edition of only 200 copies.

### Encyclopedias and Dictionaries

In recent years books and articles focusing on emigré biography have been published. Leading the field is O. L. Leikind et al., *Khudozhniki russkogo zarubezh'ia 1917–1939: biograficheskii slovar'*.<sup>5</sup> Arranged alphabetically, it deals with 750 artists in the fields of painting, sculpture, theatre design, icon painting and others. It does not include performing artists. Each entry provides extensive biographical data, along with archival collections, works about the individuals, and obituaries. An equally impressive dictionary is V. Kreid's *Slovar' poetov russkogo zarubezh'ia*.<sup>6</sup> Over 400 poets are included, with not only biographical data but also literature by and about the poet. A name index is included. A geographically narrower publication is A. A. Khisamutdinov's *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Aziatsko-Tikhookeanskom regione i Iuzhnoi Amerike: biobibliograficheskii slovar'*.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless this work is important. More than 2000 individuals are covered, with biographical information followed by literature by and about each individual. It is indeed unfortunate that such a useful tool was published in an edition of only 200 copies. Other important works include E. G. Osovskii, *Deiateli obshchestvenno-pedagogicheskogo dvizheniia i pedagogi rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: 150 biografii*,<sup>8</sup> and G. M. Bongard-Levin and V. E. Zakharov, *Rossiiskaia nauchnaia emigratsiia: dvadtsat' portretov*.<sup>9</sup> Some individuals

<sup>3</sup> David Arans, *Russkie knigi za rubezhom 1980–1995* (Moscow, Gosudarstvennaia Publichnaia Istoricheskaia Biblioteka Rossii, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> David Arans, *Bibliografiia russkikh knig, izdannykh za predelami SSSR 1980–1989* (Washington, 1990).

<sup>5</sup> O. L. Leikind, K. V. Makhrov and D. Ia. Severiukhin, *Khudozhniki russkogo zarubezh'ia 1917–1939: biograficheskii slovar'* (St Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo 'Notabene', 1999).

<sup>6</sup> Vadim Kreid (ed.), *Slovar' poetov russkogo zarubezh'ia* (St Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo Russkogo Khristianskogo Gumanitarnogo Instituta, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> A. A. Khisamutdinov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Aziatsko-Tikhookeanskom regione i Iuzhnoi Amerike: biobibliograficheskii slovar'* (Vladivostok, Izdatel'stvo Dal'nevostochnogo Universiteta, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> E. G. Osovskii, *Deiateli obshchestvenno-pedagogicheskogo dvizheniia i pedagogi rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: 150 biografii* (Saransk, MGPI im. M. E. Evsev'eva, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> G. M. Bongard-Levin and V. E. Zakharov (eds), *Rossiiskaia nauchnaia emigratsiia: dvadtsat' portretov* (Moscow, URSS, 2001).

(A. L. Gol'dberg, Vladimir Alloi and N. E. Andreev) have also been written about in journal articles.<sup>10</sup>

### Specialised Studies

A number of fascinating books deal with the topic of Pushkin and Russian emigration. These include general works like V. Perel'muter, *Pushkin v emigratsii: 1937*,<sup>11</sup> M. Filin, '*V kraiu chuzhom . . .*': *Zarubezhnaia Rossiia i Pushkin*,<sup>12</sup> and M. A. Vasil'eva, *Pushkin i kul'tura russkogo zarubezh'ia*.<sup>13</sup> A more specialised study is I. Iu. Simacheva's *Pushkiniana russkogo zarubezh'ia v periodike Frantsii 20–30-kh godov*.<sup>14</sup>

### Periodicals

The bibliography of emigré periodical publications is dealt with in both general and specific studies. G. V. Mikheeva's *Svodnyi katalog russkikh zarubezhnykh periodicheskikh i prodolzhaishchikhsia izdaniï v bibliotekakh Sankt-Peterburga (1917–1995 gg.): dopolneniia i novye postupleniia za 1996–1999 gg.*<sup>15</sup> updates and expands the earlier volume of the same title which appeared in 1996. It lists 262 publications, arranged in alphabetical order. Name, place and institution indexes are included. Books dealing with the contents of specific journals are diverse. The first, V. V. Lobytsyn, *Bizertinskii morskoi sbornik 1921–1923*,<sup>16</sup> provides biographical information on the authors as well as a list of the journal's contents. Next is F. M. Lur'e's *Zhurnal 'Zhar-Ptitsa'*,<sup>17</sup> a beautifully produced as well as a very useful guide. Last is a very ambitious work compiled by Iu. N. Emel'ianov, '*Golos Minuvshego*' (*Moskva, 1913–1923*), '*Na Chuzhoi Storone*' (*Berlin, Berlin-Praga, Praga 1923–1925*), '*Golos Minuvshego Na Chuzhoi Storone*' (*Parizh, 1926–1928*): *sistematicheskii rospis' statei i*

<sup>10</sup> Ts. I. Grin and I. G. Iakovleva, '“Bez Rossiki—nikuda” (A. L. Gol'dberg—bibliograf i issledovatel' Rossiki)', *Bibliografiia*, 2001, no. 3, pp. 122–27; T. Pritykina, 'Materialy k bibliografii Vladimira Alloia: knigi i zhurnaly (1977–2001)', *Diaspora*, 2 (2001), pp. 697–705; and I. Belobrov'tseva and A. Rogachevskii, 'Estonskie gody N. E. Andreeva: materialy k bibliografii', *Diaspora*, 3 (2002), pp. 687–702.

<sup>11</sup> V. Perel'muter (comp.), *Pushkin v emigratsii: 1937* (Moscow, Progress-Traditsiia, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> M. Filin (comp.), '*V kraiu chuzhom . . .*': *Zarubezhnaia Rossiia i Pushkin* (Moscow, Russkii Mir, 1998).

<sup>13</sup> M. A. Vasil'eva (comp.), *Pushkin i kul'tura russkogo zarubezh'ia* (Moscow, Russkii Put', 2000).

<sup>14</sup> I. Iu. Simacheva, *Pushkiniana russkogo zarubezh'ia v periodike Frantsii 20–30-kh godov* (Moscow, MPU, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> G. V. Mikheeva, *Svodnyi katalog russkikh zarubezhnykh periodicheskikh i prodolzhaishchikhsia izdaniï v bibliotekakh Sankt-Peterburga (1917–1995 gg.): dopolneniia i novye postupleniia za 1996–1999 gg.* (St Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi Natsional'noi Biblioteki, 2001).

<sup>16</sup> V. V. Lobytsyn (comp.), *Bizertinskii morskoi sbornik 1921–1923: ukazatel' statei, biografii avtorov* (Moscow, Rossiiskii Fond Kul'tury, 2000).

<sup>17</sup> F. M. Lur'e, *Zhurnal 'Zhar-Ptitsa'* (St Petersburg, Barguzin, 1999).



*zametok*.<sup>18</sup> This combined index contains 1117 citations from these journals. The volume contains a name index. While the result of a great deal of effort, the value of this guide is greatly reduced by the lack of a subject index.

Pre-eminent in the category of contemporary publications is the journal *Zarubezhnaia periodicheskaia pechat' na russkom iazyke: referativnyi zhurnal*,<sup>19</sup> which has been appearing since 1981 and to date has indexed nearly 30,000 items. Its longevity, excellent coverage and arrangement make it a most impressive work in progress.

In the same field is Robert A. Karlowich, *Guide to the Amerikansky Russky Viestnik*,<sup>20</sup> which covers the period 1915–1929 and continues earlier work on the topic.

### Publishing Houses and Bookstores

While much has been written about various emigré journals and newspapers, only two items have directly dealt with publishing houses and bookstores. The first, T. V. Kuznetsova's *Deiateli russkogo knizhnogo dela v Kitae v 1917–1949 gg.: biograficheskii slovar'*,<sup>21</sup> provides important data on Russian publishers in China. Nearly 100 biographical sketches make up the work. Each entry is followed by a list of literature about the person. In some cases archival sources are identified. This volume sheds considerable light on an important but relatively neglected topic. Unfortunately, only 100 copies of this book were published. The second item, by E. I. Kogan,<sup>22</sup> focuses on the contemporary activities of Norman Ross Publishing, which has issued many important books connected to Russian emigré studies.

<sup>18</sup> Iu. N. Emel'ianov (comp.), *'Golos Minuvshogo' (Moskva, 1913–1923), 'Na Chuzhoi Storone' (Berlin, Berlin-Praga, Praga 1923–1925), 'Golos Minuvshogo Na Chuzhoi Storone' (Parizh, 1926–1928): sistematicheskii rospis' statei i zametok* (Moscow, IRI, RAN, 2001).

<sup>19</sup> L. Khotin (ed.), *Zarubezhnaia periodicheskaia pechat' na russkom iazyke: referativnyi zhurnal* (Smallwood, N.Y., Informatics and Prognostics, 1992– ). When this publication began in 1981 it was entitled *Abstracts of Soviet and East European Emigré Periodical Literature*.

<sup>20</sup> Robert A. Karlowich, *Guide to the Amerikansky Russky Viestnik*, vol. 2: 1915–1929 (New York, Columbia University Press, 2000) (series: East European Monographs, no. 541). This volume is the companion to James Evans, *Guide to the Amerikansky Russky Viestnik*, vol. 1: 1894–1914 (Fairview, N.J., Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, 1979).

<sup>21</sup> T. V. Kuznetsova, *Deiateli russkogo knizhnogo dela v Kitae v 1917–1949 gg.: biograficheskii slovar'* (Khabarovsk, Dal'nevostochnaia Gosudarstvennaia Nauchnaia Biblioteka, 1998). For a review, see *Slavic and East European Information Resources*, 3 (2002), no. 1, pp. 118–19.

<sup>22</sup> E. I. Kogan, *'Biblioteknaia zhizn' N'iu-Iorka: Norman Ross Publishing Co.'*, *Bibliografiia*, 2001, no. 5, pp. 113–21.

## Studies of Russian Emigré Publishing and Journals

This topic has attracted considerable attention in recent years. Two general works on the subject are E. A. Dinershtein's 'Sovetskaia vlast' i emigrantskaia pechat' (20-e gody)',<sup>23</sup> and I. Shinkaruk and V. Ershov's *Rossiiskaia voennaia emigratsiia i ee pechat' 1920–1939 gg.*<sup>24</sup> Other works centre on specific countries. These include: G. B. Kiseleva, 'Kritiko-bibliograficheskaia informatsiia na stranitsakh russkoiazychnykh periodicheskikh izdanií Chekhoslovakii (1920–1939 gg.)',<sup>25</sup> N. V. Moravskii, 'Prazhskii sbornik sibirakov-emigrantov',<sup>26</sup> two works on Estonia by S. Isakov,<sup>27</sup> J. Suomela, 'Russian newspapers and journalists in Finland 1918–1927',<sup>28</sup> and I. V. Kuptsova, 'Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' "Russkogo Parizha" na stranitsakh gazety "Poslednie Novosti" (1920–1922 gg.)'.<sup>29</sup> Germany receives the most attention. General works include S. S. Ippolitov and A. G. Kataeva, 'Ne mogu otorvat'sia ot Rossii ...': *russkie knigoizdateli v Germanii v 1920-kh gg.*,<sup>30</sup> and A. Lysenko, *Golos izgnaniia: stanovlenie gazet Russkogo Berlina i ikh evoliutsiia v 1919–1922 gg.*<sup>31</sup> More focused works include: A. V. Startseva, '"Russkii Berlin" v 1921–1923 gg.',<sup>32</sup> A. G. Kataeva, 'M. Gor'kii i russkoe izdatel'skoe delo v Germanii v nachale 20-kh gg.',<sup>33</sup> K. I. Pankov, 'Rol' berlinskoi gazety "Dni" v dele kon-

<sup>23</sup> E. A. Dinershtein, 'Sovetskaia vlast' i emigrantskaia pechat' (20-e gody)', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, 79 (2001), pp. 197–228.

<sup>24</sup> I. Shinkaruk and V. Ershov, *Rossiiskaia voennaia emigratsiia i ee pechat' 1920–1939 gg.* (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> G. B. Kiseleva, 'Kritiko-bibliograficheskaia informatsiia na stranitsakh russkoiazychnykh periodicheskikh izdanií Chekhoslovakii (1920–1939 gg.)', pp. 161–69 of E. A. Shulepova (ed.), *Kul'turnaia missiia rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: istoriia i sovremennost'* (Moscow, Rossiiskii Institut Kul'turologii, 1999).

<sup>26</sup> N. V. Moravskii, 'Prazhskii sbornik sibirakov-emigrantov', pp. 177–93 of E. A. Shulepova (ed.), *Kul'turnaia missiia rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: istoriia i sovremennost'* (Moscow, Rossiiskii Institut Kul'turologii, 1999).

<sup>27</sup> S. Isakov, 'Knigoizdatel'skoe delo', pp. 221–33, and 'Periodicheskaja pechat', pp. 234–72 of his *Russkoe natsional'noe men'shinstvo v Estonskoi Respublike (1918–1940)* (Tartu and St Petersburg, Kripta, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> J. Suomela, 'Russian newspapers and journalists in Finland 1918–1927', *Solanus*, New series, 15 (2001), pp. 82–85.

<sup>29</sup> I. V. Kuptsova, 'Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' "Russkogo Parizha" na stranitsakh gazety "Poslednie Novosti" (1920–1922 gg.)', pp. 170–76 of E. A. Shulepova (ed.), *Kul'turnaia missiia rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: istoriia i sovremennost'* (Moscow, Rossiiskii Institut Kul'turologii, 1999).

<sup>30</sup> S. S. Ippolitov and A. G. Kataeva, 'Ne mogu otorvat'sia ot Rossii ...': *russkie knigoizdateli v Germanii v 1920-kh gg.* (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova, 2000).

<sup>31</sup> A. Lysenko, *Golos izgnaniia: stanovlenie gazet Russkogo Berlina i ikh evoliutsiia v 1919–1922 gg.* (Moscow, 'Russkaia Kniga', 2000).

<sup>32</sup> A. V. Startseva, '"Russkii Berlin" v 1921–1923 gg.', pp. 78–83 of E. A. Shulepova (ed.), *Kul'turnaia missiia rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: istoriia i sovremennost'* (Moscow, Rossiiskii Institut Kul'turologii, 1999).

<sup>33</sup> A. G. Kataeva, 'M. Gor'kii i russkoe izdatel'skoe delo v Germanii v nachale 20-kh gg.', *Novyi istoricheskii vestnik*, 2000, no. 2, pp. 6–30.



solidatsii literaturnykh sil russkogo zarubezh'ia 1922–1925 gg.',<sup>34</sup> and W. Andreeson, 'New Russian-language periodicals in Berlin'.<sup>35</sup>

### Archives

Publications dealing with archival material of the Russian emigré community have increased in recent years. The collection of essays edited by E. E. Novikova, *Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: itogi i perspektivy vyivleniia i vozvrashcheniia*,<sup>36</sup> contains a real wealth of information about archival materials in the Russian Federation and abroad. Its wide scope makes it an important source. New archival material in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) is surveyed in an article by L. I. Petrusheva.<sup>37</sup> A guide of major importance is T. F. Pavlova's *Fondy Russkogo Zagranichnogo Istoricheskogo Arkhiva v Prage: mezharkhivnyi putevoditel'*.<sup>38</sup> It deals with pertinent material worldwide, including the Russian Federation and former states of the USSR. It has name, geographic and collection indexes. Emigré material in the United States is covered in A. V. Popov's *Rossika v SShA*.<sup>39</sup> The volume is dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the Bakhmeteff Archive at Columbia University. Tanya Chebotarev also deals with the Bakhmeteff in a recent article.<sup>40</sup>

### Institutions

Various institutional works have been published recently. The most extensive is the two-volume *Tsentral'nyi Pushkinskii Komitet v Parizhe (1935–1937)*,<sup>41</sup> compiled by M. D. Filin. Although not a history in the traditional sense, the work provides extensive biographical information on the members of the organisation as well as articles dealing with its activities. A similar work is A. V.

<sup>34</sup> K. I. Pankov, 'Rol' berlinskoi gazety "Dni" v dele konsolidatsii literaturnykh sil russkogo zarubezh'ia 1922–1925 gg.', pp. 154–60 of E. A. Shulepova (ed.), *Kul'turnaia missiia rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: istoriia i sovremennost'* (Moscow, Rossiiskii Institut Kul'turologii, 1999).

<sup>35</sup> W. Andreeson, 'New Russian-language periodicals in Berlin', *Slavic and East European Information Resources*, 1 (2001), no. 4, pp. 9–21.

<sup>36</sup> E. E. Novikova, *Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: itogi i perspektivy vyivleniia i vozvrashcheniia* (Moscow, Federal'naia Arkhivnaia Sluzhba Rossii, 2001).

<sup>37</sup> L. I. Petrusheva, 'Arkhivnaia Rossika v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii (novye postupleniia)', pp. 297–307 of Iu. A. Poliakov (ed.), *Natsional'nye diaspory v Rossii i za rubezhom v XIX–XX vv.: sbornik statei* (Moscow, IRI, RAN, 2001).

<sup>38</sup> T. F. Pavlova (ed.), *Fondy Russkogo Zagranichnogo Istoricheskogo Arkhiva v Prage: mezharkhivnyi putevoditel'* (Moscow, ROSSPEN, 1999).

<sup>39</sup> A. V. Popov, *Rossika v SShA* (series: Materialy k istorii russkoi politicheskoi emigratsii, vypusk 7) (Moscow, Institut Politicheskogo i Voennogo Analiza, 2001).

<sup>40</sup> Tanya Chebotarev, 'Collections of Memoirs at the Bakhmeteff Archive', *Solanus*, New series, 15 (2001), pp. 86–94.

<sup>41</sup> M. D. Filin (comp.), *Tsentral'nyi Pushkinskii Komitet v Parizhe (1935–1937)*, 2 vols (Moscow, Ellis Lak, 2000).

Okorokov, *Molodezhnye organizatsii russkoi emigratsii (1920–1945 gg.)*.<sup>42</sup> Other publications include A. Iu. Danilov on the Munich-based Institute for the Study of the USSR,<sup>43</sup> and a commemorative volume on the St Sergius religious centre in Paris.<sup>44</sup>

A major contribution to the field is being made by V. N. Chuvakov in his *Nezabytye mogily: Rossiiskoe Zarubezh'e: nekrologi 1917–1997*.<sup>45</sup> To date, three of the six planned volumes have been published, covering the letters A–K. Included are thousands of names (e.g. the 'A' section alone has information on roughly 1500 individuals) and, based on a wide variety of sources, this work is an *outstanding* example of research. It is arranged alphabetically with a brief biographical summary and notation of where the person's obituary appeared. Names are cross-referenced. Once completed, this source will be of utmost importance to those studying Russians living abroad. A volume devoted to obituaries of naval emigrés is V. V. Lobytsyn's *Martirolog russkoi voenno-morskoj emigratsii po izdaniiam 1920–2000 gg.*<sup>46</sup>

### Works of Related Interest

Material in this area is largely devoted to the activities of the White movement. Publishing activities are surveyed in L. A. Molchanov's *Gazetnyi mir antibol'shevistskoi Rossii (oktiabr' 1917–1920 gg.)*,<sup>47</sup> and G. V. Mikheeva, 'Publishing in "White" Russia (1918–1922)'.<sup>48</sup> Biographical data are found in Z. S. Pavlovich, *Istoriia 'Beloi' Sibiri v litsakh: biograficheskii spravochnik*,<sup>49</sup> and in Vladimir Cherkasov-Georgievskii, *Vozhdi belykh armii*.<sup>50</sup> The structure of the White movement is found in S. V. Volkov, *Beloe dvizhenie v Rossii: organiza-*

<sup>42</sup> A. V. Okorokov, *Molodezhnye organizatsii russkoi emigratsii (1920–1945 gg.)* (Moscow, [n.p.], 2000).

<sup>43</sup> A. Iu. Danilov, 'Miunkhenskii institut izucheniia SSSR i ego biblioteka (1950–1972)', pp. 119–23 of A. M. Selivanov et al. (eds), *Vek nyneshnii, vek minuvshii ... istoricheskii al'manakh* (Iaroslavl', Iaroslavskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet, 1999).

<sup>44</sup> K. K. Davydov et al., *Sviato-Sergievskoe Podvor'e v Parizhe: k 75-letiiu so dnia osnovaniia* (St Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo 'Aleteiia', 1999).

<sup>45</sup> V. N. Chuvakov (comp.), *Nezabytye mogily: Rossiiskoe Zarubezh'e: nekrologi 1917–1997* (Moscow, Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka, Izdatel'stvo 'Pashkov Dom', 1999– ).

<sup>46</sup> V. V. Lobytsyn (ed.), *Martirolog russkoi voenno-morskoj emigratsii po izdaniiam 1920–2000 gg.* (Moscow, Feodosiia, Izdatel'stvo 'Pashkov Dom', Izdatel'skii Dom 'Koktebel', 2001). For a review, see *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 2002, no. 7, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> L. A. Molchanov, *Gazetnyi mir antibol'shevistskoi Rossii (oktiabr' 1917–1920 gg.)* (Moscow, 'Posev', 2001).

<sup>48</sup> G. V. Mikheeva, 'Publishing in "White" Russia (1918–1922)', *Solanus*, New series, 15 (2001), pp. 68–81.

<sup>49</sup> Z. S. Pavlovich (comp.), *Istoriia 'Beloi' Sibiri v litsakh: biograficheskii spravochnik* (St Petersburg, Nestor, 1996).

<sup>50</sup> Vladimir Cherkasov-Georgievskii, *Vozhdi belykh armii* (Smolensk, 'Rusich', 2000).



*tsionnaia struktura (materialy dlia spravochnika)*.<sup>51</sup> A good documentary collection on Russian political history abroad is A. F. Kiselev's *Politicheskaia istoriia russkoi emigratsii 1920–1940 gg.: dokumenty i materialy*.<sup>52</sup> Lastly, Vasil'ev's 1998 *Krasota v izgnanii* has appeared in an English translation.<sup>53</sup>

As this survey has indicated, the study of Russian emigré bibliography has undergone some remarkable changes recently. Firstly, it is clear that this topic has established a solid foundation as a major field of study. Secondly, it is an equally positive fact that now the vast majority of work on this topic is appearing from within the Russian Federation. The work in the field is far from complete, however. Besides long-standing gaps such as journal contents, archival collections and so on, new areas of enquiry are being recognised, such as the bibliography of Russians living far outside the traditional areas of emigration, and the bibliography of Russian publications appearing in former states of the Soviet Union. If recent scholarship is any indication,<sup>54</sup> we can hope to see new bibliographic work on Russians in the Middle East and Africa. Russian emigré theatre, film and music likewise await their bibliographer. As always, international collaboration is the key. Without it, the full picture of Russian emigration since 1917 will never be complete.

<sup>51</sup> S. V. Volkov, *Beloe dvizhenie v Rossii: organizatsionnaia struktura (materialy dlia spravochnika)* (Moscow, [n.p.], 2000).

<sup>52</sup> A. F. Kiselev (ed.), *Politicheskaia istoriia russkoi emigratsii 1920–1940 gg.: dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow, Gumanitarnoe Izdatel'skoe Tsentr VLADOS, 1999).

<sup>53</sup> Aleksander Vasil'ev, *Beauty in exile: the artists, models, and nobility who fled the Russian Revolution and influenced the world of fashion* (New York, Harry N. Abrams, 2000).

<sup>54</sup> For example, see Vladimir Beliakov, *Priiutila Afrika Zhar-ptitsu: Rossiiane v Egipte* (Moscow, 'Klassika Plius', 2000); G. V. Goriachkin, T. G. Gritsenko and O. I. Fomin, *Russkaia emigratsiia v Egipte i Tunise (1920–1939 gg.)* (Moscow, ISAA pri MGU im. M. V. Lomonosova, 2000); and A. B. Letnev (ed.), *Rossiiskaia diaspora v Afrike 20–50-e gody: sbornik statei* (Moscow, Izdatel'skaia Firma 'Vostochnaia Literatura' RAN, 2001).

# *Bukvar'*, 1745: A Rare Edition from the Printing-House of the Pochaiv Monastery

Oksana Yurchyshyn-Smith and Nicholas Smith

Among recent acquisitions of the Rare Books Department of Cambridge University Library is one which deserves special attention: a *bukvar'* (primer) published, as stated on the title-page, 'in the monastery of Pochaiv, by the monks of the Order of St Basil the Great, in the year of Our Lord 1745'.<sup>1</sup> This edition is not recorded either in nineteenth-century bibliographies of cyrillic printing or in later reference works, including the standard bibliography of Zapasko and Isaievych.<sup>2</sup> However it is included in the work by Tylawsky on the history of the Pochaiv printing-house, which appeared in Rome in 1963.<sup>3</sup>

One of the oldest and most famous monasteries in Volhynia, Pochaiv was founded, according to legend, by monks who had escaped from Kiev during the Tatar invasion. Its documented history begins on 14 November 1597, when Anna Hois'ka, the widow of a judge in Luts'k, gave land to found a monastery in her village of Pochaiv, where there was already a church of the Dormition of the Virgin.<sup>4</sup> Printing began at the monastery in 1618, when the abbot, Kyrylo Trankvylion Stavrovetskyi, arrived with his own portable printing press, and printed his famous and controversial 'Zertsalo bohosloviia'. When the book was finished he removed all the equipment from Pochaiv to Rokhmaniv, and no further printing took place at Pochaiv until the 1730s. By this time the monastery had joined the Uniate Church, and its former abbot, later Bishop of Luts'k and Ostrih, Feodosiy Liubenetskyi-Rudnytskyi, together with his successor, Abbot Hedeon Kozubs'kyi obtained a privilege from the royal court in Warsaw to allow printing at Pochaiv. The application was based on the fact that printing had already taken place at Pochaiv, and was justified by the shortage of service books in the Uniate Church. On 18 October 1732, August II granted the privilege, and this was confirmed by August III in 1736.<sup>5</sup> The start of printing immediately encountered bitter opposition from the Lviv Brotherhood, who had one of the oldest printing-houses

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Library, 7000.d.767.

<sup>2</sup> V. M. Undol'skii, *Ocherk slaviano-russkoi bibliografii* (Moscow, 1871). N. Barsukov, *Spisok knig tserkovnoi pechati ... biblioteki Sv. Pravitelstvuiushchago Sinoda* (St Petersburg, 1871). Ia. Golovatskii, *Dopolnenie k Ocherku ... Undol'skogo* (St Petersburg, 1874). Ia. Zapasko, Ia. Isaievych, *Pam'iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva: katalog starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraini* (Lviv, 1981–1984) and others.

<sup>3</sup> I. Tylawsky, 'Monastero di Pocaiv—la sua tipografia e le sue edizioni', *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni* (Rome, 1963), vol. IV(X), p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> *Pam'iatniki vremennoi komissii ...* (Kiev, 1859), vol. IV, pp. 39–55.

<sup>5</sup> I. I. Ohienko, *Istoriia ukrains'koho drukarstva* (Kiev, 1994), pp. 218–21.



in Ukraine and were determined to keep their monopoly. The resulting court case dragged on for nearly forty years, initially causing a hiatus in the output of books from Pochaiv, but from the 1740s production became fairly regular.

It is known that from 1739 to 1741 the director of the printing-house was the monk Adriian-Anton Hromachevskyi; in the middle of the eighteenth century Varlaam Kakoilovych held this position.<sup>6</sup> In the 1730s the editors and proofreaders were Adriian Liaskovs'kyi and Arsen Sinyts'kyi.<sup>7</sup> Type was cast by two craftsmen from Sokal' and one from Zaslav.<sup>8</sup> In 1731 the old lead roof-covering of the Trinity Church in Pochaiv was replaced by copper, and the lead was used to cast type.<sup>9</sup> From the inventory of the printing-house made in 1736 we know that the equipment consisted of one old and two new presses, with all necessary tools, enough type of different sizes and a box of woodcuts and initials. At this time there was also a typefoundry with a wide range of matrices, and bookbinding equipment.<sup>10</sup> Among the engravers working at Pochaiv at this period we know Andrii Holota, Iosyf, Adam and Iosyf Hochems'kyi, and Fedir Stril'bytskyi.<sup>11</sup>

In this early period a number of small and unimportant books were produced, but in 1735 there appeared the *Sluzhebnyk*, the first serious and well-illustrated product of the press. The dedication to Feodosiy Liubenetskyi-Rudnytskyi contains much interesting information about the foundation of the printing-house. The titlepage woodcut was engraved by A.H. (Andriy Holota), and the remaining illustrations were by Iosyf, to whom Popov also attributed small, unsigned woodcuts, including those showing the positions of the priest's hands during the service.<sup>12</sup>

The subject of this article, the *Bukvar' iazyka slavenskago chteniia i pisaniia ouchashchimsia, v poleznoe rukovozhdenie*, the first primer published by the Pochaiv printing-house, was known until recently from a single copy in the library of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome.<sup>13</sup> Another copy, complete and in good condition, was bought recently from Quaritch in London by Cambridge University Library. The provenance of this copy is unknown, but there is a note on the titlepage, probably from the late eighteenth century, '*Syllabarium, et preces lingua litterique [sic] Rhutenica. 8º*'. A paper slip was inserted

<sup>6</sup> Ia. Isaievych, 'Slovar'-spravochnik o knigopechatanii na Ukraine v XVI-XVIII vv.', *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy*, sb. 5 (Moscow, 1961).

<sup>7</sup> Ia. Isaievych, *Ukrains'ke knyhovydannia* (Lviv, 2002), p. 283.

<sup>8</sup> Zapasko, Isaievych (note 2), p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> A. Ambrosii, *Skazanie o Pochaevskoi Lavre* (Pochaiv, 1878), pp. 74, 112.

<sup>10</sup> Ohienko (note 5), p. 222.

<sup>11</sup> D. A. Rovinskii, *Podrobnyi slovar' russkikh' graverov' XVI-XIX vv.* (St Petersburg, 1895), col. 240-45, 447-48, 975-76. P. Popov, *Materiialy do slovnyka ukrains'kykh hraveriv* (Kiev, 1926), pp. 29, 32-34, 56-57. *Dodatok I* (Kiev, 1927), pp. 14, 19-20.

<sup>12</sup> Popov (note 11), *Materialy*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>13</sup> Tylawsky (note 3), p. 266.

after leaf 22 with the note '*Te Deum laudamus*'.

The book is a small octavo (177×100mm), containing 32 leaves, signed A, B, V, G in 8s, but unnumbered, the normal situation with primers from Pochaiv. The original paper covers survive, but the book seems to have been bound up with other items at some time. For the text two different sizes of type are used; the larger measures 80mm for 10 lines, and the smaller measures 65mm, giving 16 and 20 lines per page respectively.

East Slavonic primers were published under a number of different titles; the closest to the Pochaiv edition appeared in 1618 in Ev'e (Belarus) as *Bukvar' iazyka slavenska, pisanii chteniia ouchitisia khotiashchim', v' poleznoe rukovozhdenie*, and similar titles appeared in Vilnius and Moscow in the seventeenth century. The contents of primers also varied greatly; it is unusual to find identical editions. Professor Cleminson has identified five basic types, of which the closest to the Pochaiv edition is his type 4. In the Pochaiv *Bukvar'*, as in many other Ukrainian and Belarusian primers, the *Te Deum* and various lists of the Ten Commandments, Sacraments and so on are included, reflecting Western influence.<sup>14</sup>

The contents are as follows: title (1r); alphabet (2r); 2-letter syllables (2v–3v); 3-letter syllables (3v–5v); contractions (6r–7r); morning prayers (8r–13r); Apostles' Creed (13r–18r); evening prayers (19r–22r); the *Te Deum Laudamus* (22v–23v); numbers (23v); Ten Commandments (24r–25r); the Sacraments, Seven Deadly Sins, Seven Virtues (25r–25v); Seven works of charity, Seven spiritual works (26r); Seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, Fruits of the Holy Spirit (26v); Five senses, Four mental virtues, Three theological virtues, Three strengths of the soul, Three enemies of the soul, Three vows of obedience (27r); Four last things, Rules for children to respect their parents, Five duties for church (27v–28r); Athanasian Creed (28v–30v); Catechism for children (31r–32v).

The book is illustrated with woodcuts: the title frame, four illustrations, five head-pieces, one tail-piece and several initial letters. There are also four types of typemetal ornaments. The title frame (124×76mm) is a comparatively crude production, showing Cyril and Methodius standing in front of columns with a putto at the top. On the verso of the title is a woodcut of the Trinity (68×53mm), a subject which is often found in this position in primers. As frontispieces to the two sections of morning and evening prayers, two larger woodcuts appear; the Assumption of the Virgin on leaf 7v (104×67mm) by Iosyf<sup>15</sup> and the unsigned Virgin with Child in glory crowned by two angels on leaf 18v (97×63mm). The Assumption, a skilful example of baroque dynamic illustration, deserves special attention. Its author, Iosyf, also illustrated the

<sup>14</sup> R. Cleminson, 'East Slavonic Primers to 1700', *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* (Melbourne, 1988), vol. 2, no. 1, p. 1–27.

<sup>15</sup> The same woodcut was used in the *Sluzhebnyk* (1744). See Popov (note 11), *Dodatok*, p. 20.



famous *Sluzhebnyk* of 1735, and on the basis of dated and signed woodcuts it is known that he was working in Pochaiv in 1734–1738. Seven woodcuts by him were noted in Rovinskii's dictionary, to which Popov added nearly 40 more.<sup>16</sup> Popov emphasized that Iosyf, who signed his work in cyrillic and produced only woodcuts, was a different engraver from another well-known artist, Iosyf Hochems'kyi, who worked in Pochaiv from the 1740s to the 1760s in both wood and copper. The last notable woodcut in the *Bukvar'* is a small illustration in the text of praying hands (8r). This woodcut was first used in the *Sluzhebnyk* (1735), and together with other similar decorative motifs was attributed by Popov to Iosyf.<sup>17</sup> Editions from Pochaiv are richly decorated and are distinguished from those of other Ukrainian printing houses by the very strong influence of Western European culture and art, which can be seen in our *Bukvar'* as well.<sup>18</sup>

Three years after the publication of this *Bukvar'*, the monks of Pochaiv used it as a pattern for a new edition, a copy of which is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow (BJ.: 189432 I). The size, contents, design and decoration of the two editions are very similar. Only the text has been re-set, and metal ornaments have been added surrounding the full-page woodcuts, with prayers underneath.

Because of the form and intended use of primers, very few of such publications have survived, and the *Bukvar'* of 1745 is a valuable addition to the group of Ukrainian primers already held in British libraries.<sup>19</sup>

We would like to thank Dr Zdzislaw Pietrzyk of the Jagiellonian Library and Dr Mariia Helytovych of the National Museum in Lviv for their valuable assistance.

<sup>16</sup> Rovinskii (note 11), p. 447–48; Popov (note 11), *Materialy*, p. 56–57, *Dodatok*, p. 19–20.

<sup>17</sup> See note 12.

<sup>18</sup> V. Sichyns'kyi, *Istoria ukrains'koho hraverstva XVI–XVIII stolittia* (Lviv, 1937), p. 37.

<sup>19</sup> J. D. A. Barnicot and J. S. G. Simmons, 'Some unrecorded early printed Slavonic books in English libraries', *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 2 (Oxford, 1951), pp. 98–126. J. S. G. Simmons and E. P. Tyrrell, 'Slavonic books before 1700 in Cambridge libraries', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* III (Cambridge, 1963). C. Thomas, 'Two East Slavonic primers: Lvov, 1574 and Moscow, 1637', *British Library Journal* XI, no. 1 (London, 1984), pp. 32–47.





Fig. 1. Title-page of the Bukvar', Pochaiv, 1745. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.



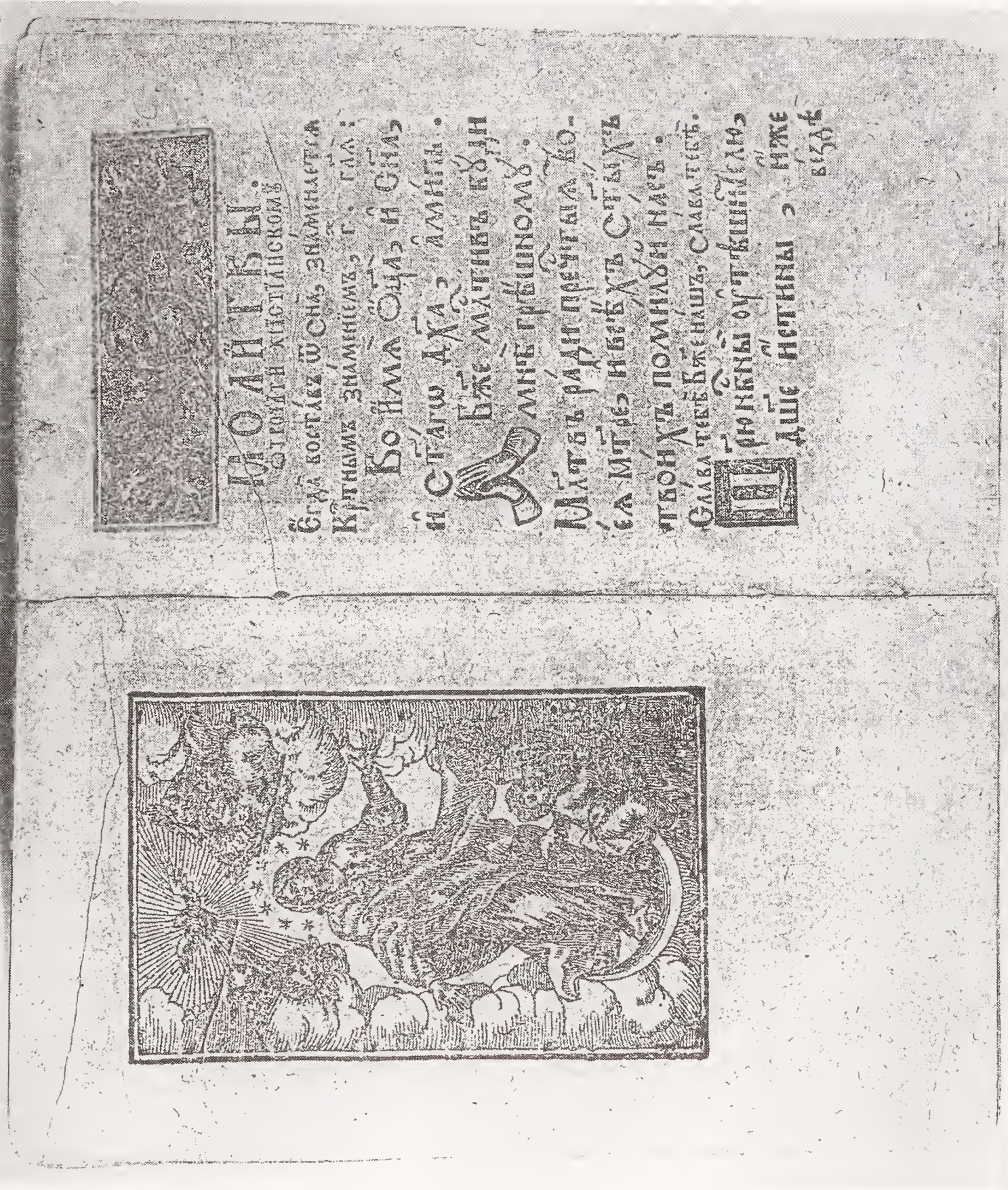


Fig. 2. Opening of leaves 7v and 8r from the Bukvar', Pochaiv, 1745. The Assumption on the left is by Iosyf. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.



# Romanian Book Production, 1716–1770<sup>\*</sup>

Alex Drace-Francis

## New Constitutions, Modern Revolutions

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Habsburg and Ottoman empires housed maybe two or three million Romanians in their confines.<sup>1</sup> The former polity, having repulsed the Ottomans from the gates of Vienna in 1683, took over Hungary and then (in 1688) Transylvania, which was hitherto a tributary province of the Ottoman Empire ruled by Hungarian Protestant princes. This brought a large number of Orthodox Romanians under the rule of the Austrian Emperor, who shortly afterwards established for them a Greek Catholic, or Uniate Church, which followed Eastern rites but acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope of Rome. In 1716 the Banat of Temesvár, formerly an Ottoman province, was also conquered by an Austrian army and entered into the personal possession of the Emperor. Two years later, the Austrians took over Serbia (the *pashalik* of Belgrade), and Oltenia (or 'little Wallachia', the part of that province to the west of the Olt river).

The Ottoman administration did not remain passive in the face of these threats to its European possessions. Its tributary states of Moldavia and Wallachia, where Orthodox Christian princes ruled at the Sultan's behest over a largely Romanian-speaking population, were next in line. Already in 1711, the Moldavian prince Dimitrie Cantemir colluded with the Russians in their first serious attempt to annex Ottoman territory, but was defeated at the battle of Stănilești. Cantemir fled to Russia where he wrote a series of works on Ottoman culture which gained him European renown as a scholar. Three years later, his Wallachian counterpart Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, who had reigned for 26 years and would long be associated with a 'native' cultural revival in arts and architecture in that territory, was publicly executed in Istanbul along with his four sons, on the grounds of colluding with the Habsburgs. His successor and chief denouncer, Ștefan Cantacuzino, was similarly dispatched in 1716.

The Sultan reacted by attempting to tighten his political and economic grip on the Principalities, and arrogating the right to appoint princes himself from

<sup>\*</sup> This article is a prequel to Alex Drace-Francis, 'Romanian book production, 1770–1830', *Solanus*, n.s., vol. 16 (2002), pp. 5–26. I am grateful to Robert Evans for inviting me to present a first version at the Oxford University East Central Europe seminar on 2 May 2003, and to those present on that occasion for their suggestions; also to Dennis Deletant and the *Solanus* editorial board for theirs.

<sup>1</sup> Bogdan Murgescu, *Istorie românească—istorie universală*, 2nd edn (Bucharest, 1998), p. 21, reckons 2 million for 1600 and 4.5 million for 1800. Keith Hitchins, *The Romanians, 1774–1866* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 58–59, discusses some figures for the 1770s.



among the Orthodox élite of Constantinople. This practice was not new: it had functioned informally since the sixteenth century, and fairly regularly since the mid-seventeenth. However, it was clear to contemporaries that the management of the Principalities underwent something of a change with the appointment of Nicolae Mavrocordat (1680–1730) to the throne of Moldavia in 1711, and subsequently to that of Wallachia in 1716: an Austrian observer saw these appointments as tantamount to ‘new constitutions’,<sup>2</sup> while Brâncoveanu’s former secretary, the Florentine Anton Maria del Chiaro, referred to ‘the modern revolutions of Wallachia’.<sup>3</sup> Immediate consequences included attempts to organize stricter and more regular principles of tax collection, and to restrict the privileges of the nobility, making them dependent on service to the state. All this can be seen as part of Ottoman policy to repopulate the Principalities after years of war, and ensure a productive revenue for themselves and a stable regime at the edge of their European possessions. An initial period of stability under the relatively long reigns of Nicolae Mavrocordat in Wallachia (1719–1730) and Mihai Racoviță in Moldavia (1715–1726) gave way to extremely frequent changes to the rulership of the Principalities. From 1730 to 1770 the prince was deposed nineteen times in Wallachia and seventeen in Moldavia. But such head-counts mask the fact that the princedoms were effectively confined to three major families: Mavrocordat, Ghica and Racoviță. Members of a fourth family, Callimachi, began to be appointed in Moldavia after 1758. Only the first of these families was Greek; the second was Albanian, and the last two were Moldavian in origin.<sup>4</sup>

### Modern Evaluations, Old Stereotypes

The period 1716–1770 has a notoriously bad reputation in the literature.<sup>5</sup> The 10th of February of the former year was, if we are to believe the romantic historian Nicolae Bălcescu, ‘a day of mourning for Romanians: on that day Nicolae Mavrocordat, the first Phanariot prince, ascended the illustrious throne of the Bassarab dynasty [of Wallachia].’<sup>6</sup> Bălcescu’s publisher and contemporary, the

<sup>2</sup> Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* . . . , VI (Bucharest, 1878), p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Anton Maria del Chiaro, *Storia delle moderne rivoluzioni della Vallachia* (Venice, 1718).

<sup>4</sup> On the period in general see: Andrei Pippidi, *Hommes et idées du sud-est européen à l’aube de l’âge moderne* (Paris, Bucharest, 1980), pp. 341–350; Vlad Georgescu, *The Romanians* (London, 1991), pp. 73–121; Bogdan Murgescu, ‘“Phanariots” and “Pământenii”. Religion and ethnicity in shaping identities in the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire’, in M. Crăciun and O. Ghitta, eds, *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe* (Cluj-Napoca, 1995), pp. 196–204.

<sup>5</sup> Ștefan Lemny, ‘La critique du régime phanariote: clichés mentaux et perspectives historiographiques’, in Al. Zub, ed., *Culture and Society* (Iași, 1985), pp. 17–30; and his ‘Die rumänische Aufklärung’, *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert*, XIX, 1, 1995, pp. 34–45.

<sup>6</sup> N. Bălcescu, ‘Puterea armată și arta militară. De la întemeierea Principatului Valahiei până acum’, *Foaie științifică și literară*, I, 28, 23 iulie 1844, p. 217.

Moldavian Mihail Kogălniceanu, asserted in the same review:

the medieval history of the [Romanian] Principalities begins with their formation and ends with their definitive decline under the Phanariot princes (1716) . . . modern history begins with the most terrible age that ever fell upon our countries. All elements of nationality and patriotism are lost; the fundamental laws of the country are trampled upon; the public assemblies, under the name of divans, undertake only formal measures of no interest.<sup>7</sup>

This totally negative assessment was thoroughly criticized and revised at the end of the nineteenth century, notably by the prolific and brilliant historian Nicolae Iorga.<sup>8</sup> But stereotypes about the eighteenth century remain in popular opinion and historical practice. Even one of the most dedicated researchers of the Romanian culture of the period, Alexandru Duțu, was able to write:

after the tragic death of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, the intellectual scene remained frozen for several decades, until the second half of the eighteenth century. Romanian culture received no impulse from new ideas, no fresh direction was imparted to the old humanist heritage. Any sign of a revival in education and literature are not visible until 1770.<sup>9</sup>

And a recent and well-received history of the Balkans reaches for the vampirical metaphor, asserting that the Phanariot princes ‘sucked the cultural and economic life blood out of the Principalities’.<sup>10</sup>

There exist surveys of Romanian book production in the previous and succeeding periods;<sup>11</sup> here I will attempt an overview of what happened between these two dates.<sup>12</sup> The period is notable for a considerable increase in the number of books being printed in Romanian, numerous attempts to reform the intellectual habits of the Romanian clergy and nobility, as well as signifi-

<sup>7</sup> M. Kogălniceanu, ‘Cuvânt pentru deschiderea cursului de istorie națională în Academia Mihăileană. Rostit în 24 noiembrie 1843’, *ibid.* I, 38, 1 oct. 1844, p. 301.

<sup>8</sup> N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești în secolul al XVIII-lea (1688–1821)*, 2 vols (Bucharest, 1901); *Istoria bisericii românești*, 2 vols (Bucharest, 1908–1909); *Istoria învățământului românesc* (Bucharest, 1928) (French version: *Histoire de l’enseignement en pays roumains*, Bucharest, 1932); *Istoria românilor*, vol. VII: *Reformatorii* (Bucharest, 1938) (French version: *Histoire des roumains*, t. VII: *Les Réformateurs*, Bucharest, 1940). The Romanian edition of the latter volume has just been re-edited by Sorin Iftimi (Bucharest, 2002), with useful bibliographical updates.

<sup>9</sup> Cited by Georges Castellat, *A History of the Romanians*, tr. Nicholas Bradley (Boulder, Co, 1989), p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> Misha Glenny, *The Balkans, 1804–1999* (London, 1999), p. 57.

<sup>11</sup> Dennis Deletant, *Studies in Romanian History* (Bucharest, 1991), pp. 116–185; Alex Drace-Francis, ‘Romanian Book Production, 1770–1830’, *Solanus*, n.s., vol. 16 (2002), pp. 5–26.

<sup>12</sup> My sources remain as given in the latter article: *Bibliografia românească veche (1508–1830)*, edited by Ion Bianu, Nerva Hodoș and Dan Simonescu (Bucharest, 1903–44), 4 vols (hereafter *BRV*); Daniela Poenaru, *Contribuții la bibliografia românească veche* (Tîrgoviște, 1973); and Dan Râpă-Buicliu, *Bibliografia românească veche. Additamenta (1536–1830)* (Galați, 2000). A repertoire of internal sources for the period is Ștefan Lemny, *Românii în secolul XVIII. O bibliografie* (Iași, 1988).



cant changes in the form and usage of the Romanian language. Ways in which historical actors saw books as important for a conception of ‘the Romanian nation’ (*neamul rumânesc*) will also be highlighted. A few scholars have noted the importance of books for conferring identity and as an agent of change in the Balkans in this period.<sup>13</sup> Some have seen the universal outlook of the Orthodox world of the eighteenth century as being incompatible with the uniformity of later national loyalties;<sup>14</sup> others, however, have argued that the apparent ecumenicalism of Orthodoxy proved a fertile ground for the development of national cultural traditions in the Balkans.<sup>15</sup> Although there is evidence for both points of view, my interpretation will tend slightly towards the latter. However, I will also show that considerable efforts in the direction of social and religious reform in the period did not lead to a decrease in superstitious and ritual attitudes towards book but rather reinforced them. Attempts by both Habsburg and Phanariot reformers to use religious literature as an instrument of change may, intentionally or otherwise, have given weight to the symbolic rather than the use value of the book.

### Books and their Uses

The ecclesiastical corollary of the execution of Brâncoveanu, often cited in support of the stereotype of cruel Levantine interlopers stamping out a flourishing native culture, was the execution of the Metropolitan Bishop of Wallachia, Anthimos the Iberian (i.e. the Georgian: he was an escaped slave from

<sup>13</sup> In my earlier article I listed some general works; for this period, notable are: Andrei Pippidi, ‘Early modern libraries and readers in South-Eastern Europe’, *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XIX, 4, 1981, pp. 705–721; and Daniel Barbu, ‘Loisir et pouvoir. Le temps de la lecture dans les pays roumains au XVIII-e siècle’, *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XXVIII, 1–2, 1990, pp. 17–27.

<sup>14</sup> Gale Stokes, ‘Church and Class in Early Balkan Nationalism’, *East European Quarterly*, XIII, 3, 1979, pp. 259–270; George F. Jewsbury, ‘Nationalism in the Danubian Principalities’, *ibid.*, pp. 287–296; Paschalis M. Kitromilides, ‘“Imagined Communities” and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans’, *European History Quarterly*, XIX, 2, 1989, pp. 149–192; *idem*, ‘Balkan Mentality’, *Nations and Nationalism*, II, 2, 1996, pp. 176–177; Mark Mazower, *The Balkans* (London, 2000), pp. 46, 57.

<sup>15</sup> Emanuel Turczynski, ‘Nationalism and Religion in Eastern Europe’, *East European Quarterly*, V, 4, 1972, p. 472, spoke of ‘a polyethnic religious community (*Glaubensgemeinschaft*) which under the influence of different historical images and myths led to the formation of national ideologies’. Peter Sugar, *Nationalism and religion in the Balkans since the 19th century* (Seattle, 1996), p. 12, rephrased this as ‘an unconsciously formulated self-awareness that melds the religious and ethnic into a new concept with which the majority of a given group could identify. It is no longer purely religious and not yet national; it is neither while it is both.’ Cf. Kemal Karpat, ‘*Millet*s and Nationality’, in B. Braude and B. Lewis, eds, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, London, 1982), vol. I: ‘while the basic *millet* was universal and antinational [...] the transformation of Ottoman society which began early in the eighteenth century helped merge various family-based ethnic and linguistic groups into larger social and economic groups which eventually claimed independence and statehood’ (pp. 147, 151).

Tbilisi) who had done so much for printing in many languages.<sup>16</sup> He had his beard pulled out, was accused of practising black magic and collaborating with the Germans, and—on his way to exile on Mount Sinai—was massacred on the orders of the new prince, Nicolae Mavrocordat, his body being cast into a tributary of the river Maritsa in Bulgaria. A printer of a service book in 1720 noted in the preface: ‘the learned men have fallen, and being myself the only one left, God knows with what difficulty I printed what remains, working with simple and uneducated men’.<sup>17</sup> An image of Greek ecclesiastical domination has likewise flourished in the literature,<sup>18</sup> and has received far fewer counter-blasts than the alleged domination in the political sphere.<sup>19</sup>

But printing in Romanian did not dry up after 1716, at least not in Wallachia (in Moldavia, there was indeed a hiatus between 1715 and 1726). That Wallachian centres dominated printing was a tradition established in Brâncoveanu’s time; and that liturgical and other service books formed the majority of works printed was also entirely normal. Curiously, and significantly for an epoch of supposed transition from ‘Romanian’ to ‘Greek’ rule, both the number and proportion of Greek-language works declined. Few elaborate defences of the Orthodox faith and teachings, or panegyrics to the Christian princes would be published under the Phanariots.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, the initiatives for printing works in Turkish, Arabic and Georgian for the Christian communities of the East—one of the most notable aspects of cultural enterprise in Wallachia at the beginning of the eighteenth century—were continued only hesitantly.<sup>21</sup>

The main trend was towards the production of books necessary to the liturgical cycle: even many of the publications of parts of the New Testament (the Gospels, the Acts and Epistles) were arranged in terms of readings through the year in church rather than for free private contemplation. The scholar Daniel Barbu has calculated that scriptural and liturgical books constituted 75% of published titles, with a further 18% comprising theological or devo-

<sup>16</sup> On Antim’s activity see G. Ștrempel, *Antim Ivireanul* (Bucharest, 1997); in English, Deletant, *Studies* (note 11), pp. 157–161.

<sup>17</sup> *Slujbele de obște a tuturor sfinților* (Bucharest, 1720), in *BRV* (note 12), IV, pp. 43–44.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. Radu Florescu, ‘The Uniate Church: Catalyst of Rumanian National Consciousness’, *Slavonic and East European Review*, XLV, 1967, p. 326; Emanuel Turczynski, ‘Nationalism and Religion’ (note 15), p. 477; Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, vol. I: *Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1983) pp. 102, 104.

<sup>19</sup> See nevertheless Hitchens, *The Romanians* (note 1), pp. 36–43, on the subsequent period.

<sup>20</sup> On that tradition, see: Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 338–359; Emil Turdeanu, *Etudes de littérature roumaine et d’écrits slaves et grecs des Principautés roumaines* (Leiden, 1985), pp. 275–315; Bogdan Murgescu, ‘Confessional Polemics and Political Imperatives in the Romanian Principalities (Late 17th–Early 18th Centuries)’, in Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta, eds, *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe* (Cluj-Napoca, 1998), pp. 174–183.

<sup>21</sup> On this subject see Dan Simonescu, ‘Impression de livres arabes et Karamanlis en Valachie et en Moldavie au XVIIIe siècle’, *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, V–VI, 1967, pp. 49–75.



tional books, and a mere 7% being of a pedagogical or administrative character.<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand, a new type of book which was to appear was the instruction booklet for priests, the ‘Chapters of Command’ (*Capete de poruncă*) published by Anthimos in 1714, or the *Teachings on the Seven Sacraments*, a first variant of which appeared at the eparchy of Buzău in 1702 and which were re-edited numerous times throughout the eighteenth century, although it is only later that we hear of attempts to enforce knowledge of the sacraments and of reading and writing as accomplishments essential to the priestly caste.<sup>23</sup> Although the express purpose of these books was to ensure a more formal and uniform understanding of official doctrine among the clergy, they also contained advice on a range of issues: why you should not use the cross as a ritual instrument to bring rain to your crops; why Romanian boyars should not marry Gypsy girls; how to compose dowry lists.<sup>24</sup> A *Catavasier* published at Râmnic in 1747 has a few folk carols (*cântece de stea*), the first known examples in Romanian, printed at the end.<sup>25</sup>

The second most important centre of Romanian printing in this period was Râmnic, in Oltenia, a territory annexed by the Habsburgs and under their innovative administration until 1739, when the Ottomans won it back and it was restored to rule from Bucharest. The Habsburgs did not attempt to bring over the Orthodox population to the Uniate Church, as had been their policy in Transylvania, but rather kept the existing Romanian bishop Damaschin in place, subordinating his eparchy to the Metropolitanate of Belgrade, also temporarily under Austrian rule. Damaschin, formerly Bishop of Buzău, had already printed an *Apostol* and produced a manuscript translation of the Rev-

<sup>22</sup> Barbu, ‘Loisir et pouvoir’ (note 13); Other attempts at classification include that of Mario Ruffini, *Aspetti della cultura religiosa ortodossa romena medievale (secoli XVI–XVIII)* (Roma, 1980), pp. 203–224 (Biblical, liturgical, theological, homiletic and hagiographic); and Ion Gheție and Alexandru Mareș, *De când se scrie românește* (Bucharest, 2001), pp. 76–81 (Reading books; service books; doctrine; exegesis and edification; apocrypha).

<sup>23</sup> *Învățătură de șapte taine* (Buzău 1702), *BRV* (note 12), I, pp. 433–435; other instructions published 1710, 1714, 1724, 1741, 1746, 1747, 1750, 1774, 1775, 1794 (*BRV*, I, pp. 481, 492–493, 548–550; II, pp. 22–23, 54, 92–93, 206, 210–211, 367–370; IV, p. 224); Poenaru, *Contribuții* (note 12), pp. 31–32, 34–35; for Moldavia see *Învățătura preoților pe scurt de șapte taine* (Iași 1732); later versions in 1745, 1751, 1755, 1757, 1784 (*BRV*, II, pp. 48, 87, 119–120, 139–141, 292–294; IV, pp. 235–237); ‘Hrisov cu privire la preoți’, 30 May 1734, in Melchisedek, *Chronica Hușilor și a episcopiei cu asemenea numire* (Bucharest, 1869), pp. 199–205; in English see the translation of the preface to *Sinopsis* (1755) by Teoctist, Metropolitan of Moldavia, *Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul, 1719–1778* (Neamț Monastery, 1978), pp. 93–94.

<sup>24</sup> V. Chivu, ‘Cărți de învățătură pentru preoți din secolul XVII și XVIII’, *Studii teologice*, 2nd series, XIII, 9–10, 1961, pp. 591–593. On priests’ duties in Wallachia see Constanța Ghițulescu, ‘Preoți și enoriași. Exemplul Țării Românești în secolul al XVIII-lea’, *Revista istorică*, XIII, 1–2, 2002, pp. 121–136.

<sup>25</sup> *BRV* (note 12), II, p. 97.

elations of St John.<sup>26</sup> In 1725 he petitioned the Austrian general Tige asking to be allowed to publish further liturgical books, arguing:

similar published works are to be found printed in the Slavonic idiom in the whole of Serbia and Bulgaria and in Poland and in great and small Russia, and even here in Imperial Wallachia, and in Transalutine Wallachia, and in Moldavia, and in Transylvania, and in all Wallachian churches. But these books are in Slavonic, and seeing that our Romanians stand in the churches like oxen, not understanding what they read and sing, and go out of the churches without any edification, I began, by divine instinct and with great labour, beginning some ten years ago, to transpose from the Greek and the Slavonic into our simple Romanian language and I thought to publish such works to the glory of God and the immortal memory of his Sacred Imperial Catholic Majesty, but the matter has stood still, and will continue to do so for I have neither an expert printer nor money.<sup>27</sup>

A request to distribute prayer books 'printed in Romanian and intended for the instruction of the Romanian people' in Transylvania, the Banat and the district of Arad was likewise turned down.<sup>28</sup> In the same year the Uniate Bishop in Transylvania, Patachi, condemned Damaschin's edition of the *Teaching of the Sacraments* as being 'against the Christian law and the Holy Councils'.<sup>29</sup>

Damaschin died suddenly shortly after this; but his manuscripts remained, and his authorship of them was even defended by his heirs in a lawsuit against his successor: 'he toiled for the benefit of the common Romanian people and translated these works'.<sup>30</sup> A whole series of publications ensued in the period from 1730 to the 1760s and beyond, including several editions of the main liturgical works: an *Octoih* (Book of chants for each day of the week), *Triod* (Prayers and chants for the ten weeks before Easter), *Penticostar* (for the fifty days after Easter), *Minei* (Book of services, prayers, chants and readings for each month), *Ceaslov* (Book of Hours), *Molitvenic* (Book of prayers for the forgiveness of sins), *Catavasier* (Book of chants), as well as the *Apostles*, *Psalters*, a book of glosses on the Gospels, and an *Antologhion* of sacred

<sup>26</sup> Alexandru Lapedatu, 'Damaschin episcopul și dascălul, traducătorul cărților noastre de ritual', *Convorbiri literare*, XL, 1906, pp. 563–581.

<sup>27</sup> Letter of 22 November, 1725, published by Nicolae Dobrescu, *Istoria Bisericii Române din Oltenia în timpul ocupațiunii austriace, 1716–1739* (Bucharest, 1906), pp. 164–165. This confirms the rather more conjectural affirmation of Transylvanian historian Martin Schmeitzel, *Versuch zu einer Historie der Gelehrtheit* (Jena, 1728), p. 383, n.12, that 'they use Russian [Slavonic] for celebrating divine service, as is proved by their books, although few of them have come under my sight'.

<sup>28</sup> Damaschin to Hofkriegsrath, November 1725, in Dobrescu, *Istoria* (note 26), pp. 163–164; Tige to Hofkriegsrath, December 1725, *ibidem*, p. 167.

<sup>29</sup> Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal*, I (Sibiu, 1920), p. 110.

<sup>30</sup> Mihail Regleanu, 'Contribuții la cunoașterea Episcopului de Râmnic, Damaschin', *Hrisovul*, I, 1941, p. 447.



texts.<sup>31</sup> Another important publication, of some historical significance for Serbian literature, was the *First Teachings for Youth* (*Pervoe učenje otrokom*) edited in Râmnic in 1726 in Romanian and Church Slavonic, from the St Petersburg edition by Feofan Prokopovich of three years earlier, which had already been distributed in the region by Russian emissaries. It was re-edited in 1727 and 1734 in Church Slavonic only, and in 1749 in Romanian only. Further works in Church Slavonic, aimed largely at the neighbouring Serbian population who had no presses of their own, include the grammar of Meletie Smotritskii, edited here in 1755, and the *Pravila molebnaia* of 1761, also known as the *Srbliak*, which organized a religious service around specifically Serbian saints and differentiated the Orthodox service from other Church Slavonic models for the first time. It was re-edited in Venice in 1765.<sup>32</sup>

But the real current of printing in Romanian was generated at Bucharest and has long been associated with the name of Constantin Mavrocordat (1711–1769), one of the most learned and dynamic of the Phanariot princes. According to a French visitor to his court, ‘he spoke Italian and German perfectly, and understood French extremely well even if it was difficult for him to speak it’.<sup>33</sup> After the end of the wars of 1735–1739 and the Austrian withdrawal from Oltenia, Mavrocordat attempted to introduce a series of reforms, including a much discussed ‘emancipation of the peasantry’, a regulation of finances and the keeping of a regular budget and judicial registers.<sup>34</sup> We have unfortunately no first-hand documents about his publishing policy, only a late mention in a chronicle composed in the 1770s: ‘in his third reign in Wallachia, he translated into the Romanian language all the church books, for before there was only the Gospels and the Apostles, and the others were in Slavonic, and Greek in

<sup>31</sup> For a detailed description, see Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, ‘Tipografia Episcopiei Râmnicului (1705–1825)’, *Mitropolia Olteniei*, XII, 5–6, 1960, pp. 291–349.

<sup>32</sup> *Štamparija u Rimniku i obnova štamparija Srpskih knjiga 1726 / Tipografia de la Râmnic și reluarea tipăririi cărților sîrbești la 1726* (Novi Sad, 1976); G. Mihăilă, ‘Tipografia de la Râmnic în contextul relațiilor culturale și literare româno-sârbe’, *Valori bibliofile din patrimoniul cultural național* (Râmnicu Vilcea, 1980), I, pp. 34–40. Descriptions of the editions in *BRV* (note 12), II, pp. 29–32, 107–108, 132, 157; IV, pp. 51, 52–54, 193, 243; G. Mihajlović, *Srpska bibliografija XVIII veka* (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 14–20, 44, 55–57, 78.

<sup>33</sup> Jean-Claude Flachot, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts d’une partie de l’Europe, de l’Asie, de l’Afrique et même des Indes Orientales* (Lyon, 1766), I, pp. 282–283; Romanian version in *Călători străini în țările române*, IX (1716–1768) (Bucharest, 1996), pp. 254–255, where numerous other foreigners’ impressions of this prince may be found.

<sup>34</sup> Șerban Papacostea and Florin Constantiniu, ‘Les réformes des premiers Phanariotes en Moldavie et en Valachie: essai d’interprétation’, *Balkan Studies*, XIII, 1972, pp. 89–118. Cf. Daniel Chirot, *Social Change in a Peripheral Society* (New York, 1976), pp. 76ff.

the large monasteries.<sup>35</sup> This is to overrate Mavrocordat's role in the replacement of Church Slavonic and Greek with Romanian books—a slow process that had roots in various initiatives over the past hundred years<sup>36</sup>—and it is almost certain that he had no personal hand in the translation. But it is fair to say that the quantity of books produced in the 1740s (and not only in his reign) effectively put an end to these traditions, at least in ecclesiastical life. And while Greek continued to be used in court and elite life until the middle of the nineteenth century, Mavrocordat actively fought against its use in public administration, upbraiding his *ispravnici*, or county administrators, if they wrote to him in Greek and not in Romanian.<sup>37</sup> It is characteristic of Mavrocordat's innovative politics that he was the first prince to order the publication of a collection of Romanian historical documents (and perhaps also characteristic of the times that followed that another 99 years were to elapse before a second collection was published, and that by a Slavist in St Petersburg).<sup>38</sup>

Mavrocordat was also the likely patron of the first significant Romanian grammar of the period, composed by Dimtrie Eustatievici, director of the Orthodox schools of Braşov and later secretary to the Orthodox bishops of Transylvania after their reinstatement in 1762. Eustatievici's *Gramatica* was composed in 1757 and dedicated to Mavrocordat for 'the good and untiring efforts of Your Highness in pulling the Romanian people from the fog of darkness into the light of truth', but remained in manuscript, was not rediscovered until the 1880s and published only in 1969.<sup>39</sup>

Mavrocordat seems even to have restricted the ability of the local Metropolitanate to produce books, or at least to have made monopolistic use of the most experienced printer of the period, Stoica Iacovici. In 1741 his successor, Mihai Racoviţă, had Iacovici defrocked for appropriating typographical equipment

<sup>35</sup> *Genealogia Cantacuzinilor*, ed. N. Iorga (Bucharest, 1902), p. 391. Western writers on the Principalities also attributed the introduction of Romanian-language service books to Mavrocordat: Ignazio Stefano Raicevich, *Osservazioni storiche, naturali e politiche intorno la Valachia, e Moldavia* (Naples, 1788), p. 242; William Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia* (London, 1820), p. 135.

<sup>36</sup> Ioan Bianu, *Despre introducerea limbii româneşti în biserica românilor* (Bucharest, 1904) remains the fundamental study; Violeta Barbu's articles, 'Preliminarii la studiul naţionalizării serviciului divin: principalele versiuni româneşti ale *Simbolului credinţei* (1650–1713)', *Limba română*, XL, 1–2, 1991, pp. 25–31, and 'Preliminarii la studiul naţionalizării serviciului divin: unificarea versiunilor *Simbolului credinţei* (1660–1713)', *Revista de istorie şi teorie literară*, XXXIX, 3–4, 1991, pp. 351–363, although treating a specific aspect, constitute the nearest thing to an update.

<sup>37</sup> Alexandre A. C. Sturdza, *L'Europe Orientale et le rôle historique des Mavrocordato* (Paris, 1913), pp. 187–188.

<sup>38</sup> *Aşezământul sfintelor mănăstiri* (Bucharest, 1741); Iurii Venelin, ed., *Vlakho-Slavianskie ili Dako-Slavianskie Gramaty* (St Petersburg, 1840). For details, see Dan Simonescu, 'Cea mai veche colecţie tipărită de documente româneşti', *Mitropolia Olteniei*, XXII, 5–6, 1970, pp. 493–523.

<sup>39</sup> Dimitrie Eustatievici, *Gramatica rumânească, 1757*, ed. N. A. Ursu (Bucharest, 1969). On other manuscript grammars and linguistic activity in the period see Ion Gheţie and Gh. Chivu, eds, *Contribuţii la istoria limbii literare. Secolul al XVIII-lea (1688–1780)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2000).



and dedicating works to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, without mentioning the local Metropolitan on the title-page, as was the custom. When Mavrocordat returned to the throne of Wallachia in 1744, he reinstated Iacovici.<sup>40</sup> He also upset the Metropolitans by inviting various of the Patriarchs of the Eastern sees (Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem) to visit the principalities and distribute books among the extensive monastic lands dedicated to them and from which they drew money.<sup>41</sup> Patriarch Partenie of Jerusalem printed and distributed indulgences in Church Slavonic in 1749.<sup>42</sup> In the same year, Prince Grigore Ghica thought it necessary to underline:

even if it has been hierarchs, princes and boyars who have desired to commit certain books to print and paid the printing costs, it has never been possible to do this without the approval and blessing of the Metropolitan of the country.<sup>43</sup>

The metropolitan press was reorganized in this period with printers from Râmnic and material from Transylvania.

In 1741 Mavrocordat was transferred by the Porte, where his rivals had successfully intrigued against him, to rule in Moldavia. Book production had been languishing in this province, to the extent that in 1733 a priest had had the impertinence to write on a priceless sixteenth-century codex that ‘this book is written in Romanian, and it’s good for nothing.’<sup>44</sup> A chronicler in the same decade claimed that ‘there was no country in which education was worse than in Moldavia.’<sup>45</sup> The new prince was ambiguously portrayed:

this Prince Constantin was a man of extremely small stature, and a low appearance, cross-eyed and with a drowned-out voice. But he had a haughty nature, and he wanted to make a show of himself, although he was merciful too. He didn’t torture people or beat them up badly, nor was he thirsty for blood, and he was patient. He was very fond of learning, had correspondence with all the foreign countries, and insistent on having news and knowing what was going on in other lands, in order to obtain a good name

<sup>40</sup> Tit Simedrea, *Tiparul bucureștean de carte bisericească în anii 1740–1750* (Bucharest, 1965), pp. 14–18.

<sup>41</sup> Al. Elian, ‘Legăturile mitropoliei Ungrovlahiei cu Patriarhia din Constantinopol’, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, LXXVII, 9–10, 1959, pp. 904–935; and (for a later period) I. Popescu-Climeni, ‘Patriarhul Avramie al Ierusalimului și legăturile lui cu Țările Române, 1775–1787’, *Arhivele Olteniei*, XXI, 1942, pp. 89–125.

<sup>42</sup> BRV (note 12), II, p. 108. Cf. the letter of Germanos, archimandrite of Văcărești monastery to Patriarch Avramie of Jerusalem, 28 September 1776, mentioning the printing of 4000 indulgences (Hurmuzaki, *Documente* (note 2), XIV/2 (Bucharest, 1917), p. 1243); a letter of same to same, 30 November 1776 noted that the model was Russian and that the Metropolitan of Wallachia disallowed their reproduction (*ibid.*, p. 1248).

<sup>43</sup> Simedrea, *Tiparul bucureștean* (note 40), p. 95.

<sup>44</sup> Cited by Al. Zub, ‘“Lege”, cultură și renașterea națională’, *Teologie și viață*, n.s., I (LXVII), 4–8, 1991, p. 135.

<sup>45</sup> *Cronicele României*, ed. M. Kogălniceanu (Bucharest, 1874), III, p. 168.

at the Porte. [...] He told all the *mazili* [lesser boyars] in the whole country to bring their children to school to be educated, to learn any language they wished, that there might be learned men in our Moldavian land too, as there are in other countries and places.<sup>46</sup>

He ordered intelligible books to be brought from Wallachia, for in Moldavia there were no Gospels, Apostles or liturgies, the Metropolitan ordered that these books should be read out loud in the churches; and the Prince further ordered that the Metropolitan and the bishops should each have a press in his diocese, to print intelligible books. And so it happened that they made a press and these have been working ever since in the land of Moldavia, and have been greatly noted in these countries.

The Prince also gave an order through all the counties for the *ispravnici* to examine the priests and deacons; and those without a parish and without book learning, that is knowledge of the Rules of the Church, should be subject to tax like the peasantry, and pay it like the rest of the country [...] at which, I cannot describe what terror overcame the poor priests and deacons, who had to start learning to read in their old age.<sup>47</sup>

Here Mavrocordat worked with a private individual, Duca Sotiriovici, and a wide variety of works, again mainly liturgical, was published here in the 1740s and 1750s.<sup>48</sup> A press was also established in the eparchy of Rădăuți in north-western Moldavia: although this press seems only to have printed five works in two years (1744–1745), numerous copies of these reached the churches of Romanian-inhabited Maramureș and Transylvania.<sup>49</sup> The publication of books was continued by a series of dedicated Moldavian Metropolitans in the second half of the eighteenth century: Iacov Putneanul, Gavriil Callimachi, Leon Gheuca, Iacov Stamati, all of whom encouraged the translation of liturgical, educational and, later, philosophical works into Romanian.

Significantly, numerous Moldavian editions of service books followed the linguistic norms established by those published earlier in Bucharest or Râmnic, thus contributing to the harmonization of the language, and leading some linguists to speak, not entirely without justification, of a '1750 moment' in the unification of literary Romanian, although the claims made for this moment

<sup>46</sup> Ion Neculce, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, ed. G. Ștrempel (Bucharest, 1982), pp. 740–741, 858.

<sup>47</sup> Pseudo-Enache Kogălniceanu, in *Cronici moldovenesti*, ed. Aurora Ilieș (Bucharest, 1987), p. 16. This chronicler's account was taken as valid by N. Iorga, *Geschichte des rumänischen Völkes*, II (Gotha, 1905), pp. 138–139, and by many other historians after him; cf. Krista Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche und rumänische Volksbewußtsein im 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1977), p. 187.

<sup>48</sup> Constantin A. Stoide, 'Duca Sotiriovici, tipograf de Thassos', *Anuarul institutului de istorie și arheologie 'A.D. Xenopol'*, XXI, 1984, pp. 391–396, says that Duca probably came from Russia during or after the 1735–1739 war. He was made 'official' printer at the Metropolitanate of Moldavia by Mavrocordat in 1749.

<sup>49</sup> Ștefan Lemny, 'Tipografia de la Rădăuți', *Suceava. Anuarul muzeului județean*, XVIII, 1981, pp. 311–319; Olimpia Mitric, 'Cartea românească tipărită la Rădăuți în secolul al XVIII-lea', *Valori bibliofile* (note 32), I, pp. 427–432.



have been substantially moderated in recent years, as scholars have recognized the strong persistence of regional differences in manuscripts and non-literary texts.<sup>50</sup> And it is clear that no premeditated programme of linguistic unification was behind this process, even if some thought it good ‘to multiply and spread the word of the Holy Scripture not only in your Majesty’s Land but in all the lands and provinces who speak the Romanian language.’<sup>51</sup>

Since the establishment in 1697 of the Uniate, or Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania, there had been few Romanian works printed in that province: an alphabet book (*Bucvar*) in 1699, a book of elementary religious teachings (*Pâinea pruncilor*, ‘the bread of infants’) in 1702; and a few catechisms: in 1703, 1709, and another in 1726 ‘for the benefit of the Romanian nation’.<sup>52</sup> But this was a drop in the ocean compared to the much larger number of German, Latin and Hungarian publications in the province.<sup>53</sup> In 1735 the Romanian Uniate Bishop and patriot Innochentie Klein declared that ‘a press is certainly needed: if we could recuperate it, we could in time do good things not only for the nation, but also for Holy worship.’ In 1738 the old press at Alba Iulia, established by Calvinist Hungarian princes for the Orthodox Romanians, was moved to the Uniate seat at Blaj. But it was shunned by the authorities, who feared to incite the restless Romanians, who made numerous protests, some of them violent, against the ‘Western’ beliefs being imposed on them. Nor was the Habsburg regime initially very interested in developing an extensive education service for the Uniate clergy: in 1742, the line was that only priestly candidates who were ‘so thick-headed that the existing ordained

<sup>50</sup> Ion Gheție, ‘Contribuții la problema unificării limbii române literare: momentul 1750’, *Limba română*, XX, 2, 1971, pp. 113–124. N. A. Ursu, ‘Cu privire la “momentul 1750” în dezvoltarea limbii române literare’, *Limba română*, XXXIV, 6, 1985, pp. 520–531, criticises Gheție’s explanation of this process, arguing that the homogenisation of literary norms was not the result of a conscious decision by Mavrocordat or anybody else but rather a natural outcome of the dominant distribution of Wallachian books in all Romanian provinces. Gheție seems to have come round to this opinion: see his ‘Variantele limbii române literare, 1640–1780: variantele regionale’ in his (coord.) *Istoria limbii române literare, Epoca veche (1532–1780)* (Bucharest, 1997), pp. 450–454; and his ‘Secolul al XVIII-lea și unificarea limbii române literare’, in Gheție and Gh. Chivu, eds, *Contribuții la istoria limbii literare* (note 39), pp. 91–111, and Florentina Zgraon, ‘Normele limbii române literare la jumătatea secolului al XVIII-lea’, *ibid.*, pp. 112–152. Romanian Orthodox historiography extends the process of unification of the literary language through church books way back to the sixteenth century: Dumitru Radu, ‘Cartea bisericească, factor de promovare a unității spirituale, lingvistice și cultural naționale a poporului român’, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XCVII, 1–2, 1979, pp. 97–130 and 3–4, 1979, pp. 365–404 is an erudite example of this approach.

<sup>51</sup> *Evangelie* (Râmnic, 1746) in *BRV* (note 12), II, pp. 89–90.

<sup>52</sup> *BRV* (note 12), I, pp. 369–370; 440, 447; II, p. 27; IV, pp. 218, 225–233. For a detailed analysis, see Ovidiu Ghitta, ‘The first Greek Catholic catechisms in Hungary and Transylvania’, in Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta and Graeme Murdock, eds, *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 153–166.

<sup>53</sup> Mihály Sebestyén-Spielmann, ‘Contribuții la istoria tipografiilor din secolul al 18-lea. Cazul Transilvaniei’, *Alterra*, Târgu Mureș, VI, 14, 2000, pp. 175–187.

priests and protopopes can't straighten them out' should come to Blaj for instruction.<sup>54</sup> A few flyers were printed in 1747 forbidding the circulation of Turkish coins; in the same year, Maria Teresa wrote to the government affirming the utility of a press 'for editing books in conformity with the Union'.<sup>55</sup> On the orders of the court, extra printing equipment was obtained from the German presses in Herrmanstadt (now Sibiu).<sup>56</sup>

Its first major product was *Floarea Adevărului* (The Flower of Truth) published by Bishop Aron in 1750, which attempted to justify the Union with Rome with exclusive reference to Eastern Orthodox doctrine.<sup>57</sup> It was followed by an entire suite of church books, some in Latin, but the majority in Romanian, and with a much more explicit theological message than was to be found in the mainly liturgical literature printed south and east of the Carpathians, although liturgical works were not ignored here either.<sup>58</sup> This work built on the foundations already laid down by the Uniate Vicar and custodian of the Episcopal Archive, Gherontie Cotore, that 'we should have no reason to secede from the Church of Rome, as we too have the true blood of the Romans, since our ancestors in the time of the Emperor Trajan were sent into these parts'.<sup>59</sup> Copies shifted slowly, to judge by an inventory of 1777 which shows large numbers of copies of these works still on the shelves of the printing house at Blaj;<sup>60</sup> but they show evidence of a real reflexiveness about the specific differences of Romanian identity in this new religious and political context, which the scholar Violeta Barbu has called an 'anthropology of the nation'.<sup>61</sup> Some works even began to be printed in Latin letters (and with Hungarian orthography): a book of homilies at Kalocsa;<sup>62</sup> at Kolozsvár (now Cluj-Napoca)

<sup>54</sup> Greta-Monica Miron, 'Formația preoțimii greco-catolice în secolul al XVIII-lea', *300 de ani de la unirea bisericii românești din Transilvania cu biserica Romei* (Cluj-Napoca, 2000), p. 136.

<sup>55</sup> Cited by I. Zoltán Tóth, *Primul secol al naționalismului românesc ardelean (1697–1792)*, tr. Maria Someșan (Bucharest, 2001), p. 241.

<sup>56</sup> Samuil Micu, *Istoria românilor* (Bucharest, 1995), II, p. 336.

<sup>57</sup> Florentina Zgraon, 'Floarea adevărului—ediția princeps', *Limba română*, XLII, 3, 1993, pp. 123–128; and 4, 1993, pp. 171–176.

<sup>58</sup> Iorga, *Istoria bisericii românești* (note 8), II, pp. 138–142.

<sup>59</sup> Gherontie Cotore, *Despre articulusurile ceale de price* (1746), ed. Iacob Mârza (Alba Iulia, 2000), p. 17; on his career: Tóth, *Primul secol* (note 55), pp. 183–201 and P. Teodor, 'The Confessional Identity of the Transylvanian Greek Catholic Church' in Crăciun, Ghitta and Murdock, eds, *Confessional Identity* (note 52), pp. 173–176.

<sup>60</sup> Corneliu Dimă-Drăgan, 'Un ensemble bibliologique roumain de Transylvanie daté de l'année 1777', *Studia bibliologica*, IV, 1980, pp. 37–45; Mircea Ioan, 'Tipărituri apărute la Blaj în primii 25 de ani de activitate a tipografiei (1747–1771) relevate de un document de epocă', *Acta Musei Napocensis*, XIX, 1982, p. 687–693.

<sup>61</sup> Violeta Barbu, 'Biserica română unită cu Roma în căutarea identității: problema ritului și activitatea misionarilor iezuiți', *Revista istorică*, n.s., III, 5–6, 1992, pp. 529–545.

<sup>62</sup> *BRV* (note 12), II, pp. 191–192. This work, the first Latin-rite service book in Romanian, was copied in Cyrillic letters by Catholics in Moldavia (Barbu, 'Biserica română unită cu Roma' (note 61), pp. 543–544). A second edition appeared at Buda in 1799 (*BRV*, II, 413; cf. also *BRV*, IV, p. 80: *Carte de rugăciuni*).



in 1768, some *Kintyets Kimpenyesty Ku Glazurj Rumunyesty* (Country Songs With Romanian Voices)—probably collected by a Hungarian officer;<sup>63</sup> and at Vienna, a spelling book for teaching children to read in what were described as ‘the old Romanian letters’, although this was in fact never distributed.<sup>64</sup>

### Conclusions

It is difficult to say what meaning and what causal importance we should attribute to the printing of Romanian books in this interesting and under-researched period. It certainly did not automatically help the Romanian people become more literate than their Balkan neighbours who had far fewer books in this period. But people were already speaking of books being produced ‘for the benefit of the nation’. We should also consider not just book production but also the things that people did with books—tell fortunes, extract money, ward off illnesses—and some of the things they said about them. A book in Romanian may have been ‘good for nothing’, but if you stole one, you were not only liable to be cursed by the 318 Church Fathers, the Virgin Mary, the twelve apostles and the four evangelists. Your flesh would fail to rot even seven years after your death, and your corpse would have to be leant against the church wall for forty days while passers-by asked forgiveness on your behalf.<sup>65</sup> For all the attention given to confessional identity as an indicator of belonging and as a factor of division in Romanian society in the eighteenth century, it is important to remember that ritual usages of books and writing were in most cases more important than even the most elementary notions of ecclesiastical hierarchy. A commission set up to inquire into the state of doctrinal knowledge among Uniate Romanians in the Partium of Hungary in 1751 must have got a shock when, on asking priests who is the head of the Church, they received the following responses:

1. I don’t know, I’ve lost my book.
2. Bishop Sinezie of Arad.
3. the four Patriarchs of the East.
4. the Patriarch of Jerusalem.
5. the Empress of Russia.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Onisifor Ghibu, ‘Contribuții la istoria poeziei noastre, populare și culte’, *Academia Română, Memoriile Secției Literare*, Seria III, tom VII, 1934–1936, pp. 1–36.

<sup>64</sup> Daniel Lazarini, *Bucoavna pentru deprinderea pruncilor la cetanie în limba rumânească cu slovele ceale bătrâne rumânești*, 1769–1770; for details see Victor Țircovnicu, *Istoria învățămîntului din Banat pînă la anul 1800* (Bucharest, 1978), pp. 111–117.

<sup>65</sup> Corina Turc, ‘Interdicția de înstrăinare a cărții românești prin blesteme în secolele XVII–XVIII’, *Caietele David Prodan*, I, 1, 1994, p. 76; Doru Radosav, ‘Books and religious feeling in the XVIIIth century’, in Crăciun and Ghitta, eds, *Ethnicity and Religion* (note 4), pp. 219–221.

<sup>66</sup> Violeta Barbu, ‘Biserica română unită cu Roma’ (note 61), p. 539; see also Ovidiu Ghitta,

The first answer is the most significant: it tells us not just about ignorance but also that such knowledge was expected to be legitimated—and memory activated—by reference to books. Other uses of the printed word were more talismanic than catechetical: indulgences, for instance, were produced in large quantities in this period by local or visiting hierarchs in the Principalities; the Uniate priest and Enlightenment author Samuel Klein recalled that his father used to wear one hanging from his neck.<sup>67</sup> Elsewhere reading was a process connected not with cognition but with memory and ritual: according to the Transylvanian scholar Timotei Cipariu, who was born in 1805, the old men of his childhood did not believe it was possible to read out loud without having learnt the book off by heart; the material object was, nevertheless, indispensable to the efficacy of the release of information.<sup>68</sup>

The first steps towards a national language, a uniform liturgy and a bureaucracy that could begin to control human beings through print had been taken. In Moldavia and Wallachia the use of Church Slavonic in the church died out, and the use of Greek did not supplant Romanian; in Transylvania and Hungary Romanians stressed the Latinity of their origins, and Latin letters began to be used more widely for printing. After 1770, the content of Romanian books was to become ostensibly more secular, and ostensibly more utilitarian. But it was these older traditions and practices which the civilizing efforts of the Habsburg authorities and Phanariot rulers were to run up against time and time again in the following sixty years. As the scholar Doru Radosav has written, ‘The attitude towards the book is *ambivalent* because, on the one hand, it stands for a reification of the divine word, consequently of the deity itself, and on the other hand, it is an instrument of ritual and of the practice of piety.’<sup>69</sup> The conferring not only of good health and fortune but also of identity through written matter, so frequently associated with the projects of modernization—literacy, mass education, bureaucracy—involved both these attitudes, which both preceded and accompanied the processes of Enlightenment through books.

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‘La visite pastorale de l’évêque Manuel Olsavszky dans les comitats de Satu Mare et de Maramureș (1751)’ in Crăciun and Ghitta, eds, *Church and Society* (note 20), pp. 238–253.

<sup>67</sup> Alexandru Ofrim, *Cheia și psaltirea. Imaginarul cărții în cultura tradițională românească* (Pitești, 2001), p. 77.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 28. On ritual uses of books, see also Andrei Oișteanu, *Cosmos vs. Chaos: Myth and Magic in Traditional Romanian Culture* tr. Mirela Adăscăliței (Bucharest, 1999).

<sup>69</sup> Radosav, ‘Books and religious feeling’ (note 65), p. 213.



	1716– 1720	1721– 1725	1726– 1730	1731– 1735	1736– 1740	1741– 1745	1746– 1750	1751– 1755	1756– 1760	1761– 1765	1766– 1770	TOTAL
București	2	3	9	5	3	15	14	5	6	7	6	75
Râmnic	1	3	2	5	4	8	19	5	4	3	8	62
Târgoviște		1										1
Buzău						5	1			1	3	10
Căldărușani											1	1
Iași			3	1	1	7	9	11	4	4	5	45
Rădăuți						4	1					5
Blaj							1	8	8	4	10	31
Cluj						1	1				1	3
Kalocsa											1	1
Brașov				1	1							2
Trnava			1									1
Unknown		1		1		1			1	1		5
TOTAL	3	8	15	13	9	41	46	29	23	20	35	242

Romanian-language printing 1716–1770: by locality

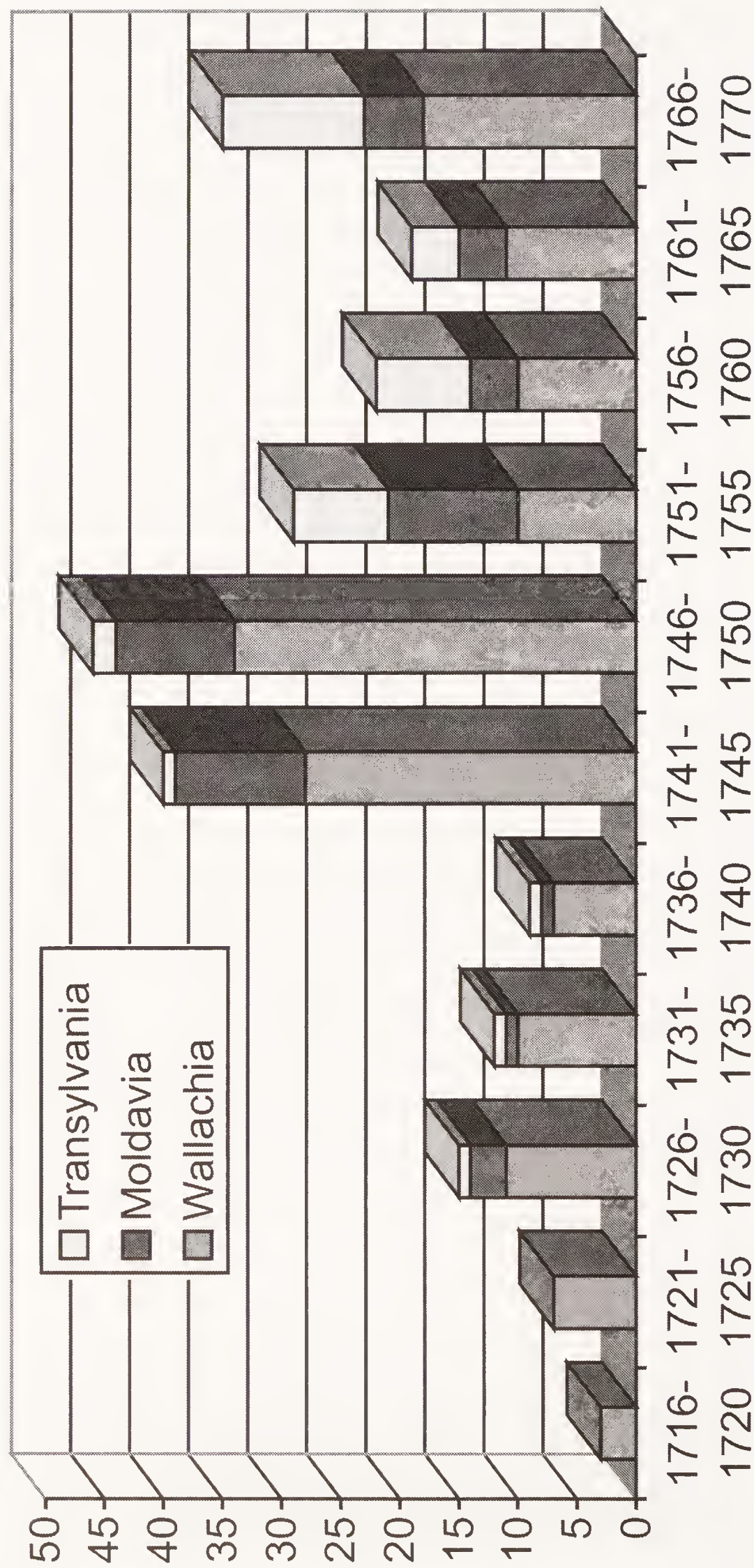


Fig. 1. Romanian-language printing 1716–1770: by province.



## Review Articles and Reviews

### New Reference Books on Russian publishing in China

Olga Bakich, *Harbin Russian Imprints: Bibliography as History, 1898–1961. Materials for a Definitive Bibliography*. New York, Norman Ross, 2002.

Patricia Polansky, translated and edited by Amir A. Khisamutdinov, *Russkaia pechat' v Kitae, Iaponii i Koree* (English title: *Russian Publications in China, Japan and Korea*). Moscow, Pashkov dom, 2002.

The publication of these works gives researchers interested in the Russian emigration to the Far East, and in the diffusion of Russian books abroad, reference tools on a level of precision and sophistication that have never so far been achieved in this field. That the two books owe much to long-standing collaboration between their authors is an additional reason to review them together.

Olga Bakich's *Harbin Russian Imprints* (hereafter: *Imprints*) represents a life's work by the leading specialist on Russian Harbin. Bakich has published on the history and the literary heritage of the Harbin Russian community,<sup>1</sup> and she is founding editor of the important Toronto journal *Rossiiane v Azii* (in which the bibliographical section is run by Patricia Polansky). *Imprints* begins with a lengthy and most useful Introduction, based on a rich array of primary sources, and tracing both the history and the publishing activity of Russian Harbin from 1898 to 1961 (the year when, according to the author's findings, the last Russian publication in Harbin came out). The book itself is then presented in three parts, viz.: Books (arranged into 23 subject categories, from 'history of the CER [Chinese Eastern Railway]' to 'maps'), Serials (divided into: newspapers, journals, single issues, and calendars), and Supplements, including a partial titles list of major Harbin-published series, and separate author and title Indexes.

An important portion of the source material for this bibliography is furnished by the catalogues of private archives and museum collections which Bakich herself compiled over the years (hence the high proportion of *de visu* verification); she has also consulted a wide range of publications on Harbin history, along with all the earlier bibliographical aids, and combed through

<sup>1</sup> See, most recently, Olga Bakich, 'Émigré Identity: The Case of Harbin', in Thomas Lahusen, ed., *Harbin and Manchuria: Place, Space, and Identity*, special issue of *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 99, no. 1 (winter 2000), pp. 51–73; Vadim P. Kreid and Ol'ga M. Bakich, eds., *Russkaia poeziia Kitaia* (Moscow, Vremia, 2001).

the Harbin daily press. The 4261 individual entries afford a maximum of information, including the print runs when known. Often enough (see e.g. no. 2604) the author also has interesting commentary to add. The sections on newspapers and journals, in particular, are awe-inspiring bibliographic work.

The project of reconstituting a body of publications from often very obscure references has, of course, its problems. It is never safe to rely on library catalogues, as some books do not actually stand on the shelves of the libraries that list them;<sup>2</sup> titles announced in the press, or on the back cover of a book by the same author or publisher, may not have seen the light of day;<sup>3</sup> most obviously, as bibliographers tend to list the same book in a number of ways, it is very difficult to judge whether the catalogues consulted were referring to similar, though distinct titles, or indeed to the same one.<sup>4</sup> For some of the imprints which she has not seen, Bakich is able to list a long line of references, while evidence for the appearance of others remains thin.<sup>5</sup> Libraries and archives in Russia, which Bakich has not been able to consult, and the few emigrants' attics which she has not yet rummaged through, might yield many more surprises.<sup>6</sup> Much more could still be unearthed in China.

Methodologically, Bakich does not define 'imprints', which saves her the need to explain the criteria of inclusion (elaboration of 'bibliography as history' also does not extend beyond the subtitle). She thus includes examples of the Harbin samizdat (e.g. no. 423), even typewritten or lithographed

<sup>2</sup> A reader who tries to order the Harbin periodicals *Gong* and *Russkoe obozrenie* at the British Library will hear that they were destroyed in World War II; also figuring in the BL catalogue, an offprint by the Harbin doctors Novkunskii and Ulrich is unfortunately lost. Present availability, however, is not Bakich's concern in this book.

<sup>3</sup> 'Undated advertising leaflets' provide the only source for several publications listed on p. 299; no. 465, which could be a valuable memoir of Harbin life if found, is based on an advertisement in no. 2702. To tap the BL collection for books which Bakich has not seen, no. 453 (mistakenly listed under no. 430 in the Author Index) announced two more intriguing brochures by Baron Roger Budberg; we know, however, that the author died, and that his publisher V. A. Chilikin moved to Shanghai later in the same year. The continuation of no. 1462, a short novel by the pulp fiction writer Aleksandr Matiushenskii (not 'Matiushinskii'), was said to be soon available for sale under the title *Van'ka-Kain*. This reviewer, for one, would be curious to know if any of these works was ever published.

<sup>4</sup> Entries nos. 1633 and 2051 are in fact double references to the same book, the last 14 pages of which are again listed separately under a third entry, no. 1966. A copy of this book, *Kitaevedenie* (Harbin, 1929), can be seen at Cambridge University Library.

<sup>5</sup> Bakich's reliance on notes by the late Harbin bibliographer Diao Shaohua seems especially problematic when (as on pp. 225–26) they cannot be supported by other evidence. Did Diao list books, articles or both?

<sup>6</sup> Among recent publications, Maksim L. Dubaev, *Kharbinskaia taina Rerikha* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 130, 149, 260–61 reproduces illustrations, cover and frontispiece from the book *Znamia prepodobnogo Sergiia Radonezhskogo* (Harbin, Izdatel'stvo Altair, 1934). An article by Elena Chernolutskaia in the recent volume *Harbin and Manchuria* (note 1) cites *Iubileinyi sbornik Gruzinskogo obshchestva v Man'chzhou-Di-Go, 1905–1935* (Harbin, 1935), and Rabbi Aron Kiselev's *Natsionalizm i evreistvo* (Harbin, 1941).



school journals,<sup>7</sup> but not, apparently, albums of family history or unpublished manuscripts. Translations, numerous offprints of journal articles and statutes (*ustavy*) of various Harbin institutions are also in, next to reprints of Russian classics or of books originally published in the Russian Far East. This all-inclusive method is not a bad solution, but one that could have been made more explicit to the readers, especially as it affects the tentative statistical data which the Bibliography offers on the number and subject matter of 'Harbin imprints'.

Readers approaching this monumental Bibliography with a view to using it as a practical book-finding tool might be disappointed to discover that Bakich ignores the question of the imprints' actual location, that is until the concluding lines of the Introduction where she says that they are 'scattered throughout [...] many countries of the world'. Her task would have been even more monumental, and her contribution even greater, had she indicated books' locations whenever known (fortunately, with books that the compiler has seen, this information can often be inferred from her references to the collections of American and Canadian libraries). All names, not just those of books' authors, should have been included in the Index. The future bibliographer who would wish to continue Bakich's pioneering effort might also think it useful to indicate when and where these hard-to-find books have been reprinted.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, there are mistakes, some of them of a kind all the more regrettable in a book of this high level. We find few misprints, but many wrong transcriptions of Chinese titles, locations and persons,<sup>9</sup> and misspellings of non-Russian personal names.<sup>10</sup> Other mistakes mainly in the supplied biographical information are probably unavoidable considering the vast scope of the work: thus Bakich (no. 2023) fails to identify a colleague and a former

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. nos. 3902–04, 3912–13, 4001, 4005. Bakich could have enriched her collection by such titles as *Opyt*, *Blokha* and the more high-minded *Res civitatis nostrae*, all of them journals edited and published by pupils of the Harbin New Mixed Gymnasium in the early 1920s. See no. 1258 (copy BL), pp. 30–31.

<sup>8</sup> Examples of Harbin books reprinted in Russia or in the West include nos. 2499, 2530, 3009, 3278. Some of the important sinological writings of Ippolit G. Baranov have recently been collected under the title *Vérovaniia i obychai kitaitsev* (Moscow, 1999). Another reprinted title, Mitropolit Innokentii, *Pochemu khristiane prazdnuiut voskresen'e, a ne subbotu (Otvet adventistam sed'mogo dnia)* (Harbin, 1930, 72 pp.; repr. 2000) is not included in *Imprints*.

<sup>9</sup> Qingdao (pp. vii, 2), Zhang Zuolin (twice on p. 14, and throughout), Manzhou diguo (p. 15), Fujiadian (p. 24), Zhang Huanxiang (p. 35) should correctly appear as given here. Both Chinese titles on p. xii are wrong, and no. 3560 should read *Guoji xiebao*. There is some confusion about the Chinese co-editors of the CER-owned paper *Yuan Dongbao* (p. 12), who were, in turn, Gu Zhi, Lian Mengqing and Yang Kai. It is unclear why the 'Yihetuan' uprising should be preferred to the well-established Boxers.

<sup>10</sup> President Doumer (p. 30 and no. 1390), Roerich (no. 1489), Roman von Ungern-Sternberg (no. 2548), Brockhaus (no. 2768), Evelyn Lenox Simpson (no. 3540). A footnote quoting a French source strangely omits the accents (p. 2, n. 11).

Harbinite, the Oriental librarian and bibliographer Wolfgang Seuberlich.<sup>11</sup> A Harbin-published book by the popular writer Pavel Severnyi is absent from *Imprints*, though available in the Hawaii collection (Polansky, no. 581). The coverage of one aspect of Russian religious-philosophical writing, in particular, requires extensive correction. A. Ostromirov (nos. 2752–53, 3359–60) was a pseudonym of the Moscow resident Aleksandr Gorskii, who for obvious reasons could not publish in the Soviet Union.<sup>12</sup> It was also A. K. Gorskii, not his Harbin collaborator Nikolai Setnitskii, who published under the name A. K. Gornostaev (nos. 1312, 2691, 2692).<sup>13</sup> G. G. Gezhelinskii (no. 3267; copy BL) was, in turn, a pseudonym of N. A. Setnitskii, while *Smertobozhnichestvo* (no. 3145; the same title appears in Polansky's catalogue under no. 611) was jointly authored by Setnitskii and Gorskii. The first part of Setnitskii's main work, *O konechnom ideale*, did not examine the ideas of N. V. Ustrialov (as per no. 3396), but those of the philosopher Pavel Novgorodtsev.

Patricia Polansky is Russian Bibliographer at Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii, and her book is a catalogue of this library's rich holdings in the field. The two Introductions, by Polansky and her collaborator the Vladivostok historian A. A. Khisamutdinov, tell the story of the library's collection of Russian books published in China, Japan and Korea, along with the personal story of the people who have worked to set it up. The catalogue itself then lists in alphabetical order 770 titles of books and journals, interspersed with reproductions of original covers, seals and bookplates. In the absence of such data in the book, one has to rely on general impressions in saying that the listed publications come mostly from Harbin, followed by Shanghai, with far smaller numbers from Tianjin and Beijing; there are few books published in Japan, and Korea is an exotic exception. The surveyable ground has allowed space for thorough and exhaustive coverage, from the full name and life dates

<sup>11</sup> See Chen Yuan, ed., *Wolfgang Seuberlich (1906–1985): Ostasienwissenschaftler und Bibliothekar* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, 1998), p. 15 for his early Russian publications. Polansky (no. 236) is also unfamiliar with this author. Readers will need to correct the patronymic of Sergei Aleksandrovich Nedolin (nos. 1200–01), and turn to Polansky's catalogue to find out the real name of A. Rennikov (nos. 2772–73).

<sup>12</sup> This is noted correctly by Polansky (see her entry no. 441). Of the four issues of Gorskii's brochures on the teaching of Nikolai Fedorov, as listed in no. 2753, no. 2752 corresponds to *vypusk* 1; no. 3359 to *vypusk* 3, no. 3360 to *vypusk* 4 (*vypusk* 2, not listed separately in *Imprints*, was entitled *Proektivizm i bor'ba so smert'iu. Bogoslovie obshchego dela*). See the commentary in Aleksandr K. Gorskii and Nikolai A. Setnitskii, *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> In addition to the last two titles (also held by the BL), Taylor Institution Library holds another Harbin-published book which *Imprints* omits: A. K. Gornostaev (i.e. A. K. Gorskii), *Odigitriia: sonety iz tsikla 'Velikaia tsep'* (n.p., 1935; 38 pp.). The rare copy, numbered 90 in a print run of 120, bears a dedication to the poetess Elizaveta Skobtsova (Mother Maria, 1891–1945).



of authors, whenever known,<sup>14</sup> to every stamp or hand-written notation on the Hamilton Library copy. Beautifully designed, the catalogue not only makes a handy guide, but (a rare feat for a bibliography) it is a pleasure to open and browse through. It joins the equally elegantly produced (though very highly priced) *Harbin Russian Imprints* in offering two reference books that no student of the Russian emigration will be able to do without.

MARK GAMSA

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*Vestnik Dal'nevostochnoi gosudarstvennoi nauchnoi biblioteki: zhurnal po voprosam teorii i praktiki bibliotekovedeniia, bibliografovedeniia i knigovedeniia*, chief editor A. I. Bukreev. Khabarovsk, DVGNB, 1998. No. 1–.

This is the only library journal, to my knowledge, ever to have been published in the Soviet/Russian Far East, which is roughly the area beyond Lake Baikal. It is a quarterly. The journal began with about 60 pages on mediocre paper with a print-run of 100 and presently is about 140 pages on very good paper in a larger sized format with a print-run of 180. The illustrations in early issues were colour xerox inserts; presently the photos are black and white within the text. The periodicity was maintained quite well the first few years, but is now delayed by more than a year.

Khabarovsk became a city in 1880. By 1884 St Petersburg recognised the special significance of the Far East and separated the Transbaikalia, Amur, Maritime, and Sakhalin districts from the Eastern Siberian governor-generalship to create the Priamur governor-generalship, its Governor-General being accountable only to the Tsar (see John J. Stephan, *The Russian Far East: A History*, Stanford University Press, 1994, p. 55). A decade later the Nikolaevskaia publicnaia biblioteka was established by the Priamur branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (1894–1918). The prominent Far Eastern figure Vladimir Klavdievich Arsen'ev, made famous by the movie *Dersu Uzala*, was director (1924–1925) of the library, which was then called Biblioteka kraevogo muzeia (1921–1931). During the height of the purges the name became Dal'nevostochnaia kraevaia nauchnaia biblioteka (1931–1937); for over forty years it was called Khabarovskaia kraevaia nauchnaia biblioteka (1938–1982) with another change to Khabarovskaia kraevaia universal'naia nauchnaia biblioteka (1983–1994). After 1991 when great waves of name changes in streets and cities swept across Russia, the name of the library since 1994 has

<sup>14</sup> Mistakes and obvious omissions are few, and some have already been mentioned, but readers may want to correct the life dates of Vladimir Engelfeld (1891–1937) and Aleksandra Parkau (not 'Parkou'; 1889–1954), and add those of the Soviet sinologist and TASS journalist Vladimir Rogov (1906–89).

been Dal'nevostochnaia gosudarstvennaia nauchnaia biblioteka (DVGNB), translated as the Far Eastern State Research Library.

In his preface to the first issue, Aleksandr Ivanovich Bukreev, the Director of the Library, outlines the aims of the journal: to document the development of libraries and their work as they move into a new life in Russia, and also to fill in the 'blank spots' in the history of books, book culture, and the people connected with libraries and books. He states that following the collapse of the Soviet Union no-one is willing to defend cultural institutions, and libraries in particular. He expresses the hope that this new journal, to which library staff, teachers at institutes, researchers, directors of cultural organisations and journalists can contribute, will help raise awareness and highlight research in library studies. The first article, by Bukreev and Deputy Director and Deputy Editor Tat'iana Valentinovna Kuznetsova, details the history of the library and describes the renovation of the building (which dates from 1904) between 1994 and 1997, when it was closed to readers. A new electrical system was installed to accommodate computers, smoke alarms, sprinklers, etc. The new entry way is a large room tiled like a New York deli with one large and two small chandeliers and an inviting semi-circular desk to greet readers (in contrast with the former Soviet gray decor with guard at the desk and narrow door through to reading rooms and catalogues). The narrow door in fact still remains. The authors say there has been a change in users—today they are younger and more professional (bankers, businessmen, lawyers); but the unemployed and pensioners are also a large group. There is an increased interest in dissertations, and periodicals have a high use. The Library has created a Centre for Commercial Information, and a new complex of reference service points to help users.

Many of these changes, I would like to think, reflect Bukreev's several trips to Alaska in the heady days after August 1991. The chandeliers were obtained on one of those trips! Bukreev also participated in 1993 on an IREX grant that brought four Russian Far Eastern librarians and one archivist to the University of Hawaii for six weeks. The only reference he makes to this is attending the Slavic conference (AAASS) that was part of the program. I also know that the PolarPac project under the direction of Paul McCarthy, then Professor of Library Science, University of Alaska Fairbanks, was a key factor in encouraging Russian Far Eastern libraries to begin using computers. He does mention the 1994 IREX-sponsored workshop held in Khabarovsk that was conducted by Mike Neubert and Eric Johnson from the Library of Congress and myself.

The article also mentions the interest in Russian books printed in China, and the contacts the library has established there. Both Bukreev and Kuznetsova wrote *kandidat* dissertations on this theme under the guidance of S. A. Paichadze of the Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia nauchno-tekhničeskaja biblioteka in Novosibirsk, Kuznetsova on the centres of the book trade in



China, 1917–1949 (announced in issue no. 2 (3) 1999) and Bukreev on ‘Knizhnye sobraniia russkikh emigrantov i repatriantov iz Kitaia v kollekttsiakh stran ATR’ (which receives a laudatory review in issue no. 1 (10) 2001). Further articles by Kuznetsova on related themes appear in later issues of the journal: the Russian book in Shanghai, 1917–1931 (pt. 1) and 1931–1949 (pt. 2); books by Soviet specialists in China; prerequisites for the rise of the Russian book in China in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Bukreev contributes an article on publications by the Russian emigration in China in the 1950s and there are two articles by Paichadze: a history of the Chinese book, discussing publications of Chinese authors in Russia, and a study of Russo–Korean connexions in the field of the book. T. A. Shcherbakova highlights the books about China in the rare books collection of DVGNB.

In general, the issues of the journal are divided into sections of which some are consistent, while others come and go. Among the standard ones are: The Library today; News (conferences, seminars, etc.); DVGNB’s 105th anniversary; Local historians (*kraevedy*) and booklovers; The book ‘without frontiers’, History of DVGNB’s collections; and Library chronology. The irregular sections have included: Library policies; Service; Poetry and short literary works by DVGNB staff; History of Far Eastern libraries; Problems of training and re-training staff; Publishing affairs; Profiles of DVGNB staff; Reviews; and Obituaries.

Overall, articles can be grouped into the following themes:

#### *Librarianship/library studies*

Topics covered include thoughts on traditional and new ways of preparing specialists for library work, a profile of GPNTB SO RAN in Novosibirsk as the regional centre of library education, a review of work completed at the Khabarovsk library school by those taking correspondence courses, obtaining management skills for library staff, and the need for professional degrees for librarians.

#### *Descriptions of collections/libraries*

There are three articles on the books of Old Believers, a description of the special library of Dal’geolkom, a history of the municipal library in Khabarovsk, the miniature book in the Amur Oblast Research Library collections, two articles on the Topolevo village library, and the library of N. M. Rogal’—editor of the journal *Dal’nii Vostok*. Most of the articles are on various collections in DVGNB: a history of Pushkin’s collected works before 1917; the library of Priamur’e Governor-General N. I. Grodekov; the library of Grand Prince Konstantin Nikolaevich Romanov; a profile of the work of the music and score branch; the letters of Nora Gal’ (a literary figure); an unknown autograph of Bunin; books on Paganism and Christianity; *Rossica* among the

rare books; WWII editions; and book-plates and *Rossica* among the foreign-language holdings.

#### *Technical service themes*

Articles here are on the international book exchange program of DVGNB, a description of books donated by the Japanese Consul, and an analysis of book distribution to collections in the Central Regional Library and Central State Library systems.

#### *Historical themes*

This is by far the most interesting group of articles in the *Vestnik*. Concerning the history of DVGNB, there are studies on the 1920s, on Vladimir Klavdievich Arsen'ev's directorship in 1924–1925, and on the library during World War II. A group of articles takes the reader outside Khabarovsk to other topics and regions. These include a description of the correspondence of N. N. Murav'ev-Amurskii; the book trade during the postwar period 1946–1953, using the publishing house Vostok Rossii as an example; the book trade with eastern countries from 100 years ago; the Siberian bookstore of P. I. Makushin in Tomsk; Russo-American connexions in the field of the book and the Commission on international exchange, 1877–1916; the Polish and Jewish book in Eastern Siberia; the military book of 'White Siberia'; readers in Irkutsk late nineteenth to early twentieth century; and the Gorky Library in Vladivostok during World War II. A very thorough history of work done on the ill-fated *Dal'nevostochnaia entsiklopediia* slightly disappoints the reader. Good details are taken from archival documents on how the project was conceived, the early calls for articles, the plans for publication, and highlights on some of the contributors, but, oddly, the author says only that the political climate of the 1930s prevented the encyclopedia from being published. It would have been better to say the reason was because the majority of people involved in this project had already been rounded up in the purges and executed. The best article in this group, and the only one among all the issues that really tries to fill in a blank spot, is on the publishing of maps on the Far East in the 1930s.

#### *Present-day issues*

Among the articles are descriptions of the activities of Khabarovsk's regional libraries in 1998 and 1999, a reorganisation of the Khabarovsk municipal library network, the library as a business, cooperative systems (shared cataloguing and electronic systems), information services in institution of higher education libraries, publishing and electronic journals, and upgrading the image of libraries. In regard to DVGNB there are articles on basic library policies, priorities, and system-wide cooperation. I was struck by an article on creating an electronic catalogue of literature in foreign languages. This seems to indicate thinking in terms of the old 'separate' card catalogues—author, subject,



dissertations, periodicals, etc. The list in issue no. 1 (2001) of the priorities by every department in the library of what they want to accomplish in 2001 (in no. 1 of that year) does not really belong in a scholarly journal.

### *Children/young adults*

Topics include work in regional children's libraries and with young adults, work with young people in the Central State Library in Nikolaevsk-on-Amur, the 30th anniversary of the Children's Library Branch no. 7, and working in children's libraries in Khabarovsk.

### *Biographies/obituaries*

Biographies are always interesting and the journal concentrates on librarians and publishing people. Those presented so far are on the local historian Z. V. Vostokov, local historian S. M. Naryzhnoi (respected teacher of many librarians now working in the Russian Far East), Mikhail Semenovich Masluk, former director of the Khabarovsk Territorial Library, M. A. Kukel'-Kraevskaia, a librarian born in 1897, V. S. Shevchenko, publisher of many books and the journal *Dal'nii Vostok*, G. G. Permiakov, former resident of Harbin, V. F. Danilenko, local historian, journalist, writer, E. V. Osipova, bibliographer, I. P. Nadarov, collector and writer on *malye narody*, and V. F. Kovtun, the first editor of the *Vestnik DVGNB*.

### *Preservation*

The idea of preservation is still a relatively new concept in Russian libraries. It is encouraging to see a few articles on this topic: an analysis of the condition of collections in the Khabarovsk regional libraries in 1998; preserving collections as a social need; the *pasportizatsiia* of rare books—a plan to register and count rare book collections in the Far East and to plan for their safety (fire, water, etc.)—and preservation; and development and preservation in the Magadan Regional Universal Research Library.

### *Book fair*

There are three articles on what is now an annual book fair in Vladivostok that began in 1997.

### *Miscellaneous*

The following contributions should also be noted: the experience of L. N. Tsinovskaia, the compiler of *Vremia i sobytiia: ukazatel'-kalendar' po Dal'nemu Vostoku*; forming a historiography of the Russian book in the Central Asiatic region; the publishing practices of the Zaamursk *okrug* border guards; the Russian book in the south of Australia; pages from the history of the Russian book in Canada; and a review of how archives and documents are organised in Russia today. An interesting, although somewhat unorthodox item under the section 'Library Chronology 2000' (in no. 1 (10) 2001) lists those who sent New

Year greetings, donors (individuals, organisations, publishers), and people receiving grants to study for *kandidat* degrees, besides the usual list of annual library events.

It is exciting to see a journal like this coming from the Russian Far East. While the focus is on Khabarovsk, there are articles from and about other cities and regions. It is my hope that in the future they may add some foreign colleagues to their editorial board, and actively solicit contributions from outside of Russia. The main problem here might be one of translation, although, since *Solanus* and *SEEIR* accept articles in Russian, it is conceivable that a Russian journal aimed primarily at an academic audience could include English (or other Western-language) contributions.

During the Soviet era the Khabarovsk Territorial Library was the centre of Far East library activities, playing a role similar to that played by GPNTB in Novosibirsk for Eastern and Western Siberia. The former was in the structure of the state library system, and the latter in the Academy of Sciences. After the collapse in 1991, the old systems were greatly challenged. During Bukreev's directorship he has been working to restore the library's previous prominence. In this age of computerisation DVGNB has been a leader. The library was one of the earliest to have a web site (<http://www.fessl.ru/>) and the issues of the *Vestnik DVGNB* up to no. 1 (14) (2002) are available on the web. The electronic catalogue works well. You can find news and the latest publications.

The *Vestnik DVGNB* is off to a good start, but some suggestions come to mind. The number of books reviewed should be expanded, and the editors might think about soliciting rebuttals to reviews—a practice common in the West. The credentials of reviewers should be given (pertinent in the case of the very critical review of A. Khisamutdinov's dictionary in no. 1 (10) (2001) by G. G. Levkin). An index in the last issue of each year, along with a cumulative index (perhaps on the web) is now needed. The use of abbreviations is a problem, especially to Western readers, and a list in each issue would be helpful. In historical articles the name of the library should be referred to as it was during the period being covered—not always as the DVGNB. More articles on the history of the library and librarianship highlighting the 'blank spots' would be welcome. It would be good to think about translating the article titles into English with a small abstract, as is common in many Russian journals these days. That way, the work presented in the journal could be included in Western indexing sources, like *Library Literature*, or *Library and Information Science Abstracts*. The list of authors' names and affiliations at end of every issue is very good, as is the list of the library's publications usually on the inside back cover.

Some topics I would like to see addressed include the following: Pacific rim librarianship and cooperation; a section on or review of bibliographic efforts in the Far East (every major library puts out bibliographies—how has the use of



computers changed this?); something on the situation with the library school in Khabarovsk and on other library schools being planned; major changes in libraries since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Aleksandr Bukreev is to be congratulated on the tremendous renovations done to the library building, and for undertaking the commitment to publish this journal. According to OCLC only two libraries appear to have it—Harvard and the Library of Congress. Any library interested in the Russian Far East would benefit by adding this to their collection, and supporting the efforts of our library colleagues in the furthest reaches of the new Russia.

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Lev Abramovich Glazer, *Reminiscences of an Antiquarian Bookseller: Encounters with Books and People (1924–1986)*. Translated from Russian by Paula Israelewicz. San Jose, etc., Writers Club Press, 2001. xxxiii, 266 pp. Illustrations. Index.

The original Russian edition (L. A. Glezer, *Zapiski bukinista*) was published in Moscow by 'Kniga' at the height of glasnost in 1989, as a modest rather poorly produced paperback. One of those books which now seems uncontroversial, it would have been difficult to get it published in the Soviet Union in earlier times. This, notwithstanding the fact that the turbulent events of the years 1924–1986 are only obliquely glimpsed through the filter of the world of the bibliophile. The author concentrates firmly on the tribulations and joys (mostly the latter) of the world of books. Peter Konecny's excellent introductory outline history of those years and his brief evaluative summary of Glazer's life provide a key for non-specialists to 'decode' the text.

The author is a curious and distinctive individual but at the same time an archetypal Soviet man, a *prostoi chelovek*, whose narrative bubbles with his excitement in discovering rarities and his pride and pleasure at rubbing shoulders with the many famous people among his customers. A self-taught man who learned his trade among the makeshift stalls which proliferated in the Kitai-Gorod district of Moscow at the time of the New Economic Policy in the 1920s and later in state bookshops, notably the 'Pushkinskaia lavka' near the Moscow Arts Theatre, he is dismissive about later generations of booksellers who learned through formal courses at the 'Poligraficheskii institut'.

Although divided into chapters, each loosely covering a particular theme—At the Kitai-Gorod Wall, The Pushkin Shop, The Booklovers' Circle, Encounters with Rare Books, The Book Finds a New Home, Autographs, A Booklover's Anecdotes, To Start Life Anew—the book is essentially in the episodic form of *zapiski*, excellent for dipping into, but essentially unstruc-

tured. Precious nuggets of information of the kind hard to find elsewhere are hidden away in the narrative. For any future edition, a subject index would be invaluable. A contents page would also help navigation.

Of particular interest (mainly in the chapter 'The Booklovers' Circle') is the vivid evocation of the brotherhood (women do not feature except as wives or assistants) of bibliophiles—a collection of distinguished people from many walks of life. To mention but a few, Glazer's customers included the academician B. I. Zbarskii, famous as the embalmer of Lenin's body, writers such as Kruchenykh and Erenburg, the pilot Vladimir Kokkinaki whose favourite author was Jack London, Marshal Tukhachevskii, and the chess grand-master Mikhail Botvinnik. Entertainers are particularly well represented: circus artistes, film and stage actors, singers and variety artists, the last including the famous collector N. P. Smirnov-Sokol'skii and his lesser-known contemporary Grigorii Ivanovich Afonin. A number of collections of theatre people later went to build up the wonderful library of the All-Union Theatrical Society. Glazer also brings to life the unsung heroes of the Soviet book trade, the expert evaluators, the booksellers and even the packer and transporter of books Il'ia Aleksandrovich Alekseev, a small man of huge strength who had been known to carry 86 volumes of the Brockhaus and Efron encyclopaedia, a Tolstoyan vegetarian, unable to eat the meat cutlets served to him by Lili Brik on the occasion of the purchase of Osip Brik's collection.

The author has some interesting references to changing tastes and fashions in reading and book collecting. He cites the foreign authors of popular detective and adventure stories who were translated in the twenties, and 'published in bright, garish covers and in relatively small editions of 1000 to 3000 copies' (p. 10), and mentions the particular popularity of Edgar Rice Burroughs in the 1930s when the adventures of Tarzan fetched exorbitant prices. We learn of the 'rehabilitation' in the 1960s of pre-1800 books in the cyrillic script after decades when no library or bookseller would touch them because of their religious content, and when many were lost or destroyed. Glazer provides a fund of information on book prices and the organisation of the book trade, censorship, and the selling of rare books abroad in the twenties and thirties. The chapter 'Encounters with rare books' conveys the passion of the bibliophile and the excitement of coming across particularly valuable editions or copies, with examples as diverse as Zvenigorodskii's sumptuous 'Byzantine Enamels', copies of illegal revolutionary literature, and a miniature 1921 edition of the first RSFSR Constitution printed on wrapping paper and bound in card. The chapter 'Autographs' covers both books encountered professionally and a section listing copies with autograph dedications to Glazer, citing their dedications in full. Some dedications are admittedly difficult to translate into English but it is in this chapter that imperfections of translation are particularly noticeable, some sounding strange (e.g. *Milomu Semenu Viktorovichu* rendered



as 'To lovely Semen Viktorovich') and others virtually incomprehensible ('To Lev Abramovich, a respected and kind man—not for reading ...').

In general, if the translator ever realises her ambition of getting this very worthwhile book translated into other languages, there are a number of errors and mis-translations which should be corrected. Most important, mistakes arising from lack of knowledge of cultural context need attention: Decabrists for Decembrists (p. 178), futurist books described as futuristic (p. 134) and others. Particularly mangled are the names of authors: Rider Haggard as H. Haggard, Gustave Aimard in one instance as H. Emar and in another as G. Emar, Avicenna as Avitsenn. Serge Lifar, whose name is later cited correctly, once appears as 'Serge Lefare' (p. 81).

This book is in the best sense an amateur production, a labour of love on the part of the translator, who mentions in the preface the ten years of hard work and effort it took to get it translated and then published. There is a paucity of literature available in English on 'the book in Russia' and this volume makes an important contribution to it. It is recommended to all those interested in the history of the book in Soviet Russia, and also to social historians. 'The world of books' was one of the most striking examples of the many microcosms of Soviet society formed of individuals bound by a code of decency, mutual respect and kindness.

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Ia. Isaievych, *Ukrains'ke knyhovydannia; vytoky, rozvytok, problemy*. Lviv, Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Kryp'iakevycha NAN Ukrainy, 2002. 520 pp. Bibliography. Index.

This new substantial work by Ia. Isaievych, entitled 'Ukrainian book publishing; its origins, history and current problems', summarises the results of many years of scholarship in this field, covering not only Ukraine but Belarus and Eastern Europe generally, and at the same time provides a valuable new look at the subject, free from the restrictions formerly imposed by Soviet censorship.

In the introduction 'Sources and historiography' the author describes the different types of source material used, such as charters, internal records of publishing houses, references to printers in legal and administrative archives, private letters, old library catalogues, and so on. Isaievych also outlines the history of book-collecting and the history of major collections, both in Ukraine and abroad. He gives a very interesting history of the study of Ukrainian bibliography, which describes its vicissitudes under political pressure, especially the campaigns against Ukrainian nationalism.

In the first chapter there follows a brief account of manuscript literature, with special attention to the features which influenced Ukrainian printing. The beginnings of printed literature are covered in detail, from the first printed work by a Ukrainian author (Georgius Drohobicz's *Iudicium prenoscicon anni 1483*, published in Rome) to the start of cyrillic printing, including the printing-houses of Sweipolt Fiol, Francis Skaryna and Ivan Fedorov in Lviv and Ostrih. At the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several centres of printing were active; the Academy at Ostrih, the Lviv Brotherhood, the Balaban publishing houses in Striatyn and Krylos. A new period in Ukrainian publishing began with the establishment of the printing house of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves in 1616, which flourished under Petro Mohyla, when both Latin and Polish works were also produced. Commercial publishers were also active in Kiev, such as Verbyts'kyi and Sobol', and there were several nomadic printers as well. Even after the union of Ukraine with Russia in 1654, the press was not entirely subject to Moscow. The Monastery of the Caves and Lazar Baranovych's publishing house in Novgorod-Siverskyi and Chernihiv continued to print with relative freedom, producing the finest examples of Ukrainian baroque book production. The situation changed after the defeat of Mazepa at Poltava in 1709, and censorship was gradually imposed. In 1721 a synod decreed that all printing was to be checked against Moscow editions and was 'not to be different and no dialect [i.e. the Ukrainian language] must exist'. Even at this time a wide range of printing continued in the monasteries of Pochaiv and Univ, which were subject to Poland. Isaievych also covers the activity of Polish, Russian, German and Jewish publishing on Ukrainian territory. A general section covers the organisation of printing, publishing, bookselling and book-collecting from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. All of these chapters are rich in factual material, and well supported by references to original sources, often newly discovered ones.

There is also a chapter on publishing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which, as the author admits, it was impossible to describe all the troubles of Ukrainian publishing under Russia, Austria, Poland and Romania. He confines himself to the most notable events, such as the decree of Alexander II in 1876 which forbade the publication of any works in Ukrainian, with the exception of historical documents and ethnographical material approved by the censors.

In his afterword Isaievych concludes that cyrillic book production in Ukraine from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, as part of Eastern European and Balkan book production generally, retained its Orthodox characteristics: it was mainly for ecclesiastical use and in the Church Slavonic language. At the same time it took many essential elements from Western Europe, modifying them according to its own needs, a process which in turn influenced the neighbouring countries. Latin and Polish printing in Ukraine developed as



a part, albeit peripheral, of Western European book production. The author ends by mentioning developments in Ukraine since independence, which has brought both positive changes and new problems.

A most valuable part of the work is the bibliography, which contains both Ukrainian sources and also foreign works which were almost inaccessible to Ukrainian scholars.

The subject of this book is very broad, the volume of material is huge, so it is hardly surprising that a few errors have crept in, for example in the illustrations captions. But like the previous works of Isaievych, his latest volume is enormously valuable and deserves the highest praise.

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*Cyrillic books printed before 1701 in British and Irish Collections: A Union Catalogue.* Compiled by R. Cleminson, C. Thomas, D. Radoslavova and A. Voznesenskij. London, The British Library, 2000. XLVIII, 16 ill., [2], 172 pp.

Данный каталог является частью замысла выдающихся историков книги Дж.С.Г. Симмонса и Е.Л. Немировского, которые в начале 60-х гг. XX в. выступили с инициативой создания международного *Сводного каталога книг кирилловского и глаголического шрифтов XV-XVII вв.* Этот масштабный проект отчасти реализован в работах румынских, российских, украинских, белорусских и молдавских библиографов, создавших национальные *Сводные каталоги старопечатных книг кирилловского шрифта.*

Знаменательно, что книга кирилловского шрифта впервые в мире была зафиксирована английским библиографом Томом Джеймсом в печатном каталоге в 1605 г. С этого времени на протяжении четырех столетий в Великобритании шла кропотливая работа по собиранию и описанию ценнейших фондов славянских старопечатных книг. Ее итогом и стал *Сводный каталог книг кирилловского шрифта 1494-1700 гг. в собраниях Великобритании и Ирландии*, выпущенный Британской библиотекой в 2000 г. Составители—Р. Клеминсон, К. Томас (Великобритания), А.В. Вознесенский (Россия) и Д. Радославова (Болгария).

Открывается *Сводный каталог* кратким предисловием Дж.С.Г. Симмонса и обширным введением от составителей. Далее следуют научные описания изданий и экземпляров, завершаемые списком библиографических, исторических и мемуарных исследований конца XVI-XIX вв. и системой вспомогательных указателей.

В *Сводный каталог* включено 170 изданий кирилловского и одно глаголического шрифтов (всего 262 экз.), вышедших из типографий

30 городов и населенных пунктов Центральной, Юго-Восточной и Восточной Европы. Единственное издание глаголического шрифта было включено в *Сводный каталог* потому, что там также содержатся отрывки кириллического шрифта. По векам эти издания распределяются следующим образом: XV в.—одно издание (один экз.), XVI в.—58 изданий (103 экз.), XVII в.—112 изданий (158 экз.). Книги выявлены в 40 библиотеках 13 городов Соединенного Королевства и Ирландии. Самые крупные собрания старопечатных книг сосредоточены в Лондоне (106 изданий) и Оксфорде (61 издание). Только в Британской и Бодлеанской библиотеках хранится более половины выявленного репертуара книг кирилловского шрифта XV-XVII вв. Основной массив славянских книг, хранящихся в британских и ирландских библиотеках—это книги, напечатанные в России (46 изданий), Великом княжестве Литовском (41), Украине (35), Валахии, Трансильвании, Молдавском княжестве (18) и в Италии (12).

*Сводный каталог* отличается информативностью и точностью. Так, во введении составители дают подробные справки о фондах книг кирилловского шрифта, воссоздают картину их распределения по стране, приводят биографические данные о бывших владельцах книг, излагают историю изучения славянских старопечатных изданий как в самой Великобритании, так и за ее пределами, скрупулезно анализируют работы своих предшественников.

Составители *Сводного каталога* описали *de visu* все экземпляры учтенных изданий. Каждое научное описание делится на две части: описание на уровне издания и на уровне экземпляра. В первой части приводятся краткая библиографическая запись и основные библиографические источники, указываются факсимильные переиздания, во второй—описываются особенности каждого экземпляра в алфавитном порядке городов и книгохранилищ, в которых находятся книги, даются ссылки на различные источники, посвященные его владельцам. Следует отметить, что с максимальной полнотой сделаны описания изданий, впервые вводимых в библиографию, уникальных экземпляров, а также экземпляров, помогающих уточнению состава изданий; в этих случаях описания дополнены росписью содержания книги, перепечаткой текстов титульных листов, колофонов и выборочным фотографическим воспроизведением наборных полос.

*Сводный каталог* позволил выявить характерную особенность фондов книг кирилловского шрифта в библиотеках Соединенного Королевства и Ирландии: наличие большого количества хорошо сохранившихся редчайших экземпляров учебных изданий, таких как *азбуки*, *буквари*, *грамматики*, *часовники*, *часословы* и *псалтири* (более 40 изданий). Очевидно, сказались тесные историко-культурные связи между Россией



и Англией, бурно развивавшиеся в царствование Ивана IV. Авторы сами отмечают этот факт в той части введения, где дают краткую историю того, как отдельные экземпляры попадали в книгохранилища.

Традиционно в старопечатных книгах содержится большое количество записей. В каталоге приведены многочисленные записи, характеризующие бытование книги в обществе на протяжении пяти веков. Целый ряд записей содержит интересный исторический материал о перемещении в Англию в конце XVI-начале XVII вв. книг русских первопечатников Ивана Федорова и Петра Тимофеева Мстиславца.

Выпустив *Сводный каталог* общегосударственного масштаба, Великобритания и Ирландия стали единственными странами в мире, опубликовавшими исчерпывающие данные о наличии в их книгохранилищах изданий кирилловского шрифта XV-XVII вв.

*Сводный каталог*—дань уважения создателям старопечатной книги (издателям, типографам, граверам, безымянным мастеровым), ее знатым и простым владельцам в разные исторические эпохи, учившимся и служившим по ней, собиравшим и сохранившим ее для потомства.

*Сводный каталог* выполнен настолько совершенно, что у рецензента не нашлось повода для критики.

A. GUSEVA

*Russian State Library*

Anthony J. Heywood, *Catalogue of the I. A. Bunin, V. N. Bunina, L. F. Zurov and E. M. Lopatina Collections*, edited by Richard D. Davies with the assistance of Daniel Riniker. Leeds, Leeds University Press, 2000, xxxiv, 393 pp.

Ivan Alekseevich Bunin (1870–1953), Russian writer and winner of the Nobel prize for literature in 1933, spent more than a third of his life in exile after his emigration to France in 1920. A large body of his personal papers, usually known as his 'Paris archive' (in contrast with the papers he had to leave behind in Soviet Russia), now form part of the Leeds Russian Archive in the Special Collections division of the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds.

Although Bunin's papers and books form by far the largest part of the archive (10,763 items), this catalogue is also the key to the substantial Vera Nikolaevna Bunina (1881–1961) and Leonid Fedorovich Zurov (1902–1971) collections (8,641 and 5,308 items respectively), and the much smaller Ekaterina Mikhailovna Lopatina (1865–1935) collection (246 items). It was compiled by Anthony J. Heywood, now a Lecturer in the Department of European Studies at the University of Bradford, as part of a project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, and revised and edited by Richard D. Davies (archivist of the Leeds Russian Archive), with the assistance of Daniel Riniker (Basel/St Petersburg). Their thorough work, which began in 1989, has resulted in an ex-

tremely useful research tool for everybody working on the life and works of its four subjects.

The items in the collections described comprise mainly literary manuscripts and typescripts, letters, newspaper and journal cuttings, photographs and books, but include a number of personal possessions, such as rings, watches, coins and banknotes, and even part of a spectacles frame! They were donated to the University of Leeds between 1985 and 1991 by Dr Militsa Greene (Edinburgh), who had inherited them in 1971 from Leonid Zurov, a close friend of the Bunins, who after Vera Bunina's death inherited both her archive, which included her friend Ekaterina Lopatina's papers, and that of Bunin himself.

With its meticulous, detailed and exhaustive listing of the thousands of items in the archive the catalogue provides an excellent and convenient overview of the collections' contents. Its concise, comprehensive introduction and 48-page index offer additional useful background information. The introduction throws light on the personal and creative lives of all four subjects and is supplemented by an account of the history of the four collections and their provenance and by a general description of the arrangement of each collection. Helpful technical notes and information on how to obtain access to the archive are also provided. The detailed index is particularly useful for finding answers to specialised research questions. Within its overall alphabetical sequence it contains sub-categories like Bunin's prose and verse, his diaries, letters to newspaper editors, speeches, memoirs and notes, but also the languages and periodicals they appeared in and the publishers who issued them.

The main part of the catalogue is divided into four sections according to the different collections described. The material is numbered and classified by category: literary and journalistic works (manuscripts, typescripts and printed), personal and official documents, correspondence, illustrative material etc. Brief information is given on each item's date of origin, size, form (e.g. manuscript), nature (e.g. letter, cutting, certificate, portrait) and the language it was written or published in, making it easy to form an impression of the item.

The section on Bunin's papers is the most extensive and covers manuscripts, typescripts and printed versions of his short prose, verse, speeches, notes and diaries, as well as listings of illustrative material, personal and family documents etc. His short prose, for example, is arranged alphabetically by title, so that it is possible to establish at a glance which material is housed in Leeds. Information is also provided on earlier titles of works or different titles they were published under.

A large part of the catalogue is devoted to Bunin's correspondence, ranging from single items, including notes and visiting cards, to multi-item entries for dozens of letters from close friends and colleagues. Printed and other material about Bunin is also listed, as well as the residue of the Bunins' library.



The presentation of the contents of the other collections follows the same pattern, which makes orientation easy. The catalogue is clearly laid out and meets in an exemplary fashion every demand a researcher could make of it.

HELLA REESE

Hamburg (Germany)

Jonathan Rose (ed.), *The Holocaust and the Book: Destruction and Preservation*. Amherst, MA, University of Massachusetts Press, 2001. vi, 314 pp. ISBN 1-55849-253-4.

Banning books can be hard work. Consider the hapless Nazi apparatchiks charged with the ‘Herculean labor’ of sorting out all the Jews in world literature. So many authors, so little time, especially when political and cultural dissidents had also to be added to the list. It is not surprising, therefore, that although the Nazis removed statues of Heinrich Heine from public squares, they never got around to actually banning all of his books. This is one snippet from the wide-ranging essay by Leonidas Hill which begins this collection of essays.

No doubt operating under the assumption that the word ‘Holocaust’ in the title sells books, this work is deceptively named. True, editor Jonathan Rose takes as his starting-point the observation that ‘we sense that there must be a connection between the book burnings and the gas chambers, but can we explain specifically how one led to the other?’ (p. 1). But in fact the book’s broader theme is the relationship of totalitarianism and the printed word. Thus, it includes chapters by Arlen Blum on ‘The Jewish Question’ and censorship in the Soviet Union, by Sigrid Pohl Perry on reading and book production in the German-occupied Netherlands, Andras Riedlmayer’s study of genocide and book burning in Bosnia, and Sem Sutter’s account of efforts to preserve Polish cultural treasures from totalitarian acquisitioners. Most of the essays are, in fact, devoted to the impact of the Holocaust on books, their readers, and their storage places. More than one author invokes the poetic observation—Heine again!—that ‘there where one burns books, one in the end burns men.’

Even as they began to burn books, the Nazis also began to steal them. Beginning with the confiscation of valuable books from political and racial enemies before the war, the Nazis moved on to the systematic pillage of the book collections of occupied Europe. Hill charts the on-going competition between the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and the Reich Security Headquarters (Reichssicherheitshauptamt—the RSHA). The ERR concentrated on the acquisition of material for a putative Institute for the Investigation of the Jewish Question in Frankfurt, while the RSHA concentrated on other ene-

mies of National Socialism, such as the Christian churches, the Freemasons, and Marxists, while not forgetting the Jews. The essay by Stanislo Pugliese recounts with what thoroughness and expertise the ERR despoiled the magnificent collections of the Jewish community of Rome. He cites an eyewitness account of the officer who 'with artful and meticulous hands like fine embroidery, touched softly, caressed, fondled the papyrus and incunabula' (p. 52). In the USSR alone, the Nazis looted between three and four million books. (The Red Army repaid the compliment during its occupation of Central Europe, creating a legacy of disputed ownership that endures to this day.) The Allied effort at repatriating books processed approximately 3 million volumes—a tiny percentage of the 100 million volumes estimated to have been destroyed between 1939 and 1945.

The loss would have been even greater but for the efforts of remarkable persons in remarkable times. David Fishman relates how Jewish cultural treasures in Vilna were saved, first by the courageous members of the 'Paper Brigade' in the Vilna Ghetto who smuggled out books and documents collected in the YIVO building, and then by the director of the Soviet-era Lithuanian Book Chamber, who disobeyed orders in the last years of Stalinism to destroy Jewish materials. Fishman correctly titles his chapter 'embers plucked from the fire'. Not all collections were so fortunate. Yitzchak Kerem's description of the confiscation of Jewish books in Salonika concludes with the mournful observation that most of these materials were lost forever.

The poignancy of lost books serves to recall the greater tragedy of their lost owners. An entire section of *The Holocaust and the Book* is devoted to readership in the ghetto, particularly in Vilna. Dina Abramovicz, the late, long-serving librarian at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York, recalls her rather different experiences as a young librarian in the Vilna ghetto. Her impressions are supplemented by the translation of a unique document: the contemporary report by Head Librarian Herman Kruk of the first year of the activities of the ghetto library, complete with meticulous charts and diagrams illustrating the nature, language and readership of the collection. There are several short memoir selections of ghetto survivors, recalling the importance of books in the process of maintaining hope and dignity. This section is a striking memorial to the desperate effort of Jews to remain fully human in the face of inhuman persecution.

The book contains a number of illustrations, as well as a bibliographic survey of Jewish print culture and the Holocaust.

Despite a certain lack of focus noted above, the book succeeds in its promise of shedding light on the process by which those who burn books end by burning men.



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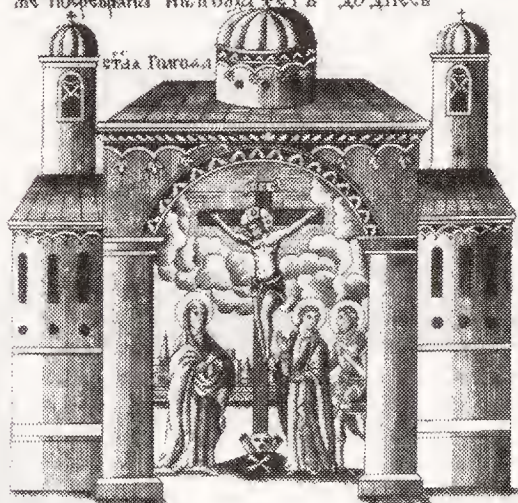
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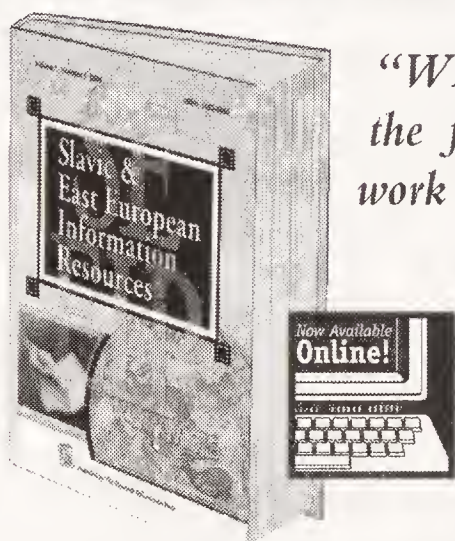
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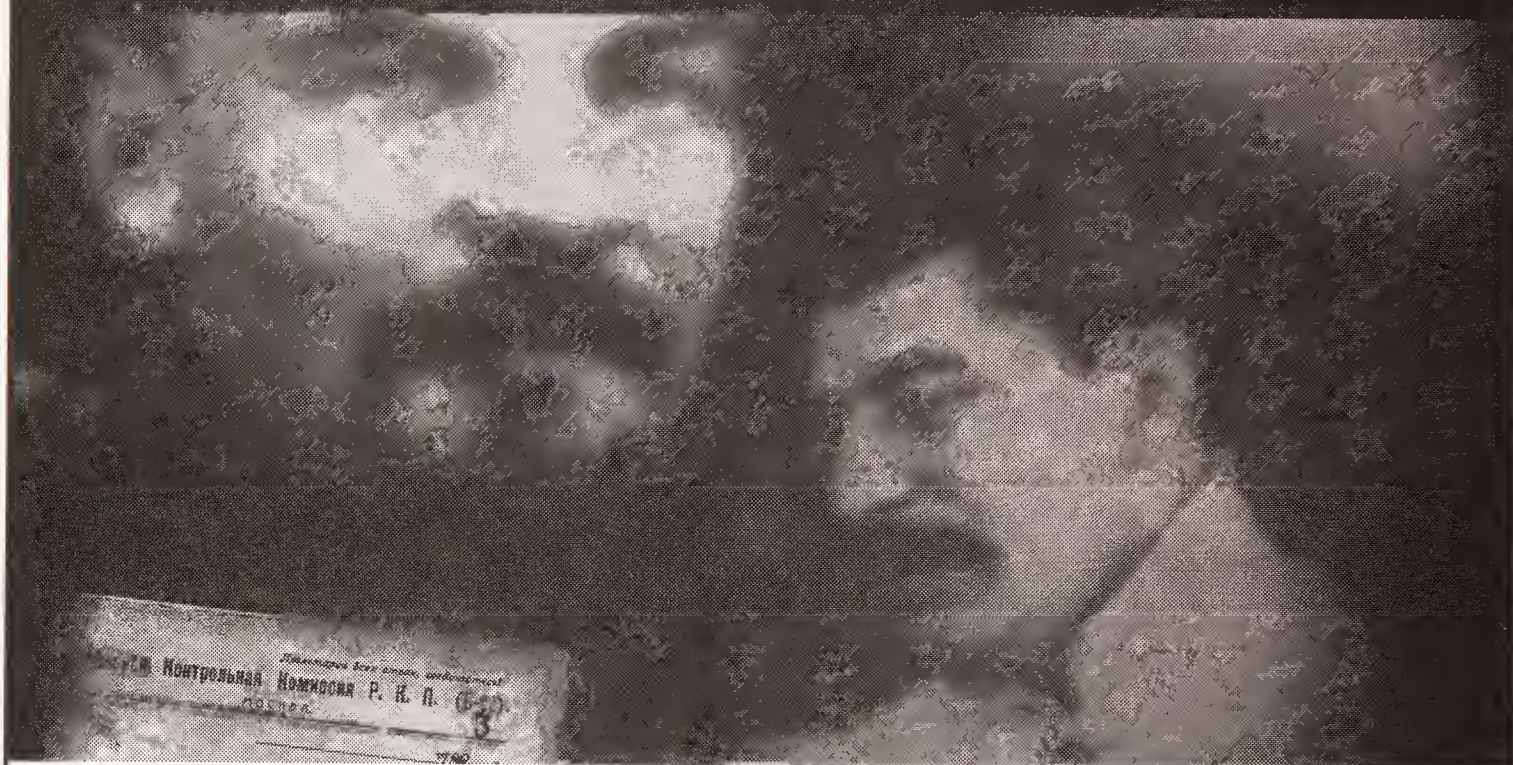
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